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**THE LINGUISTIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION: THE CASE OF ALBANIAN IMMIGRANT  
CHILDREN IN GREECE**

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**March 2016**

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Thesis summary

The present study investigates individual bilingualism of second-generation Albanian, immigrants in Greece. More specifically, it investigates the linguistic impact of migration and the phenomena of language maintenance and shift based on the example of Albanian immigrant, primary school students in Greece.

The data collected was based on interviews through which the participants' linguistic biographies were elicited and from recordings of informal communication among them.

The aim of the present study is to identify the participants' patterns of communication in the home and school environment, investigate the incentives, the rationales and the conditions these patterns of communication stem from, as well as the participants' attitude towards Albanian.

Results revealed that L1 transmission is problematic for the Late Bilinguals' group, while the possibility of non-acquisition of Albanian remains a reality for the participants who were born in Greece or came to Greece in infancy. The home context is normally the only domain where Albanian is used in fragmented patterns of communication. Findings also revealed signs of language shift for these young immigrants despite their claims for the use of Albanian that stem from symbolic reasons.

**Key words:** bilingualism, migration, language shift, maintenance

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## List of Abbreviations

**EB** Early Bilinguals

**LB** Late Bilinguals

**AL** Albanian

**GR** Greek

**A1, A2, A3, A4, A5:** code names of participants in the Late Bilinguals group.

**G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, G6, G7, G8:** code names of participants in the Early Bilinguals group

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1. Background**

This is a study of the linguistic impact of migration based on the example of primary school students in Greece whose families have recently emigrated from Albania. Unlike the limited, earlier work in the bilingual repertoire of Albanian immigrants in Greece, here the focus is exclusively on the patterns of bilingual repertoire based on qualitative methodology. Using data from semi-structured interviews and audio data recorded at school during interaction among the participants I first explore how and with whom the participants use Albanian describing recurrent patterns and variations; second, I examine the factors that determine language choice for this group of young Albanian immigrants; and third, I consider their attitude towards L1, as well as how their linguistic background affects or is affected by second language learning. In this introductory chapter, I explain how my interest in the bilingual repertoire of Albanian immigrant children developed; I describe the context of the research and give a brief outline of the theoretical and analytical frameworks which I draw on.

For children belonging to immigrant and linguistic minority groups there are often no L1 learning opportunities in the host country where the educational system may not take into consideration their background (Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Hatzidaki, 2005). The outcome is often a significant slow-down of L1 or even shift into L2; a loss that carries an impact on the children's identity, self esteem and their relationships with family members (Romaine, 1995; Banks, 2001; Cummins, 2001, 2003; Garcia, 2003; Lightbown and Spada, 2006). In addition, dropout rates are higher for students with a linguistic minority background (Christian, 2006; Ruiz-de-Velasco and Fix, 2000).

For countries like Greece where immigrants constitute 8,5% of the population (ELSTAT, 2014) it is important for educators and curriculum planners to be cognizant of how the individual, and therefore the group he represents, is affected by the demands of globalization. The group with the highest representation in the Greek school is the Albanian one (Tsokalidou and Maligoudi, 2011) with a percentage of approximately 80% of the total number of immigrant students at primary level in 2009-2010. The education of immigrant children has constituted a challenge for the Greek educational system. The policy adopted for these students is intercultural education. However, it often results in implicit assimilation into the host culture due to problems which derive from complex reasons, as the Greek

educational system seems to be unable to cope with the new reality (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011). Problems regarding early school leaving, academic failure and unequal academic opportunities stem from the lack of an effectively implemented educational policy (European Commission, 2013; Rouseas and Vretakou, 2006; Mitakidou et al., 2009; Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011; Milesi and Pashaliori, 2008). Cummins puts forward the view that ““assimilation” is similar in many ways to “exclusion” insofar as both orientations are designed to make the “problem” disappear. Under both policies, culturally diverse groups will no longer be visible or audible” (Cummins, 2001:2). There is a considerable body of literature (see for example Banks, 2001; Cummins, 2001, 2003; Garcia, 2009; Paradis et al., 2011) which suggests that the maintenance of linguistic background is an important factor of learning. The consensus view seems to be that there is facilitative interdependence between bilingual children’s languages as they “would build on each other especially in domains related to literacy and academic language” (Paradis et al., 2011:136).

As a teacher of Albanian immigrant children for several years, my own interest in their bilingual linguistic repertoire was stimulated by such theoretical assumptions as well as the significance of the early years of schooling; as Genesee and Lindholm-Leary remark, “literacy and academic language skills acquired in the L1 during the primary grades of school provide a solid foundation for the acquisition of literacy and academic language skills in English-as-a-second-language because of strong crosslinguistic links between these skill domains” (Genesee and Lindholm-Leary, 2013:14). Despite the recognition of their educational problems, little has been published on the ethnolinguistic group under study. Although a number of studies have examined the issue of language use, maintenance and shift, there has not been a strong focus on bilingual behaviour of immigrant children in non-English speaking countries and little has been published on Albanian immigrant children in Greece. In the light of all these points, I believe that my findings might be of some value in the understanding of this ethnolinguistic group’s needs and provide valuable insights in the planning of the educational and pedagogical methods that will be implemented in the future.

## **1.2. Theoretical framework**

The main theoretical premise for this study was based on Matras’ (2009) assumption that in order to comprehend the consequences of language contact on language use, shape, and structure it is important to explore the strategies that the bilingual child employs while managing his linguistic repertoire. It also adopts Blommaert and Backus view of repertoires as “indexical biographies, and analyzing repertoires amounts to analyzing the social and cultural itineraries followed by people, how they manoeuvred and navigated them, and how

they placed themselves into the various social arenas they inhabited or visited in their lives” (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:22). This thesis also draws on the work of Blommaert (2010) and Blommaert and Rampton (2011) who question traditional classifications such as ‘first’ and ‘second language’ or ‘native speakers’ in the context of a globalized world. In addition, it draws on Clyne’s (2003) and Garcia’s (2009) work on language shift and bilingual education respectively.

This research was designed following literature on how language patterns within the family and parental discourse strategies may explain the individual differences among bilinguals (Lanza, 2007) and the importance of other factors that affect language choice, such as the situation and context of discourse, the function of the interaction and the relationship between the participants (Grosjean and Li, 2013). The role of the participants’ L1 in their linguistic repertoire in the home and the school context was studied, based on research findings suggesting that the maintenance of linguistic background is an important factor of learning (Banks, 2001; Cummins, 2001, 2003; Garcia, 2009; Paradis et al., 2011). L1 learning involves the acquisition of skills that facilitate second language learning; for example, the acquisition of abstract concepts or cognitive and language learning skills (Paradis et al., 2011). Along similar lines, García (2009) argues that when the individual has acquired literacy in one language he will be able to employ his prior knowledge of linguistic practices into learning the second language. In this sense, the author asserts, subtractive bilingualism might impair the appropriate L2 development because the individual may not be able to use L1 in the process of the L2 linguistic and cognitive development.

Additive forms of bilingualism are associated with positive linguistic and academic consequences for the learner (Cummins, 2000). According to Cummins, bilingualism has positive effects on children's linguistic and educational progress, whereas the level of development of L1 is a strong predictor of L2 development. When L1 is promoted in the school, the learner’s abilities in L2 develop as well, with the employment of learning concepts and intellectual skills that enable the learner to function in the majority language; therefore, instruction in L1 does not obstruct academic development in the majority school language (Cummins, 2001). Wong-Fillmore develops the claim that “the younger children are when they face these assimilative forces the greater the effect on their primary languages” (Wong-Fillmore, 1991:342). Losing primary language implies negative consequences in the individual’s social, emotional cognitive educational development and the integrity of their families and the society they live in, according to Wong-Fillmore. Parents may not be able to convey beliefs and principles properly to their children and parental authority may also suffer a break-down. Cummins (2001) refers to the easy loss of the children's fragile L1 in the early

years of school, pointing out that rejection of the child's language implies rejection to the child; the individual may retain receptive skills in L1 "but they will use the majority language in speaking with their peers and siblings and in responding to their parents. By the time children become adolescents, the linguistic gap between parents and children has become an emotional chasm. Pupils frequently become alienated from the cultures of both home and school with predictable results" (Cummins, 2001:19). Finally, my interest in the importance of the language used in the home context was based on the assumption that the promotion of L1 in the home may benefit both languages because "a positive relationship of the interdependence between L1 and L2 emerges after the L1 has reached a certain level of development" (Cummins, 2000:50).

### **1.3. Methodological framework**

My intention at the outset of this research was, firstly, to identify the patterns of language use of this ethnolinguistic group; secondly, to examine the factors that determine language choice and use; thirdly, to investigate the participants' attitude towards L1 and the role of their linguistic background to second language learning.

On this basis, the following research questions were formulated:

1. Do Albanian children in Greece retain their L1?
2. In which context and with whom do they use it?
3. Which factors determine language choice for this group of young Albanian immigrants and what is their attitude towards L1?
4. How does the students' linguistic background affect second language learning?

In order to respond to these questions it was necessary to interview the participants, to record and transcribe examples of interaction among them. This process is described in chapters 5 and 6. The participants' linguistic biographies were constructed in order to obtain a full picture of their linguistic background, based on the individual speaker's role in the study of language contact situations (Matras, 2009) and the way they reflect their life trajectories and learning methods (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). With this method I intended to shed light into how the participants acquired the language and how they use it, supplement the method of data collection through recordings, pinpoint or explain inconsistencies/similarities between linguistic and factual data and different aspects of the same theme (Nekvapil, 2003; Pavlenko, 2007; Busch, 2006).

#### **1.4. Outline of thesis**

In this chapter I have provided background information about the education of Albanian immigrant children in Greece; outlined the development of my interest in the bilingual repertoire of this ethnolinguistic group; introduced the theoretical and methodological framework on which the study is based; indicated what I set out to achieve in this study, and how.

The remaining chapters are organised as follows: Chapter 2 will investigate the relationship between language, globalization and migration and its implications on the education of immigrant children. In Chapter 3 a review of the Albanian migration to Greece will be presented followed by the policies adopted by the Greek state towards this ethnolinguistic group. Having analysed the present situation with regard to the educational policy of Albanian immigrant children in Greece, I will go on to present the theoretical background for my thesis in Chapter 4, with theories pertaining to the bilingual child, second language acquisition and the linguistic phenomena of language maintenance and shift. My qualitative research will be presented in chapter 5. Data analysis will be presented in Chapter 6. Finally, in Chapter 7 I will present the conclusions from the research findings by reflecting on the research questions, discuss the limitations and implications of my research and propose suggestions for further study.

## Chapter 2

### Language and migration

#### **Introduction: Globalization and migration in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.**

In order to achieve an inclusive report of the relationship between the two concepts, migration and language, the structure of interaction between them will be investigated in this chapter, based on conclusions from the relevant literature. The context of the contemporary conditions of this phenomenon will be illustrated with a presentation of research on the linguistic context of *new migration*; a significant area for this study since the context of new migration sets the parameters that affect the research participants' patterns of language use. Therefore, this investigation will provide significant insights in the theoretical and analytical framework of my research.

Migration can be defined as “an event in which a person changes his or her *place of usual residence*. The latter is defined as the place where the person spends most daily periods of rest” (Poulain, 2008:43). The description and categorization of different cases of migration depend on specific parameters such as space, time, motivation and socio-cultural factors (Kerswill, 2006). Migration can be *internal* or *external* (Kamwangamalu, 2013). “A move across a boundary within a country is termed *internal migration*, the people involved being *in-migrants* to the areal unit, those moving out of it (to whatever destination) being *out-migrants*” (Kerswill, 2006:3). Furthermore, the term *periodic* or *temporary migrants* has been attributed to seasonal workers who stay in the host country for a period of time and the term *return migrants* to those who have migrated to another country and finally return to the country of origin (Kerswill, 2006). There is also the case of *forced migration* such as the situation of refugees or African slaves to places like the Caribbean and the West India in the 16th -19th centuries. Finally, the term *labour migrant* is used for the individual who “moves for economic betterment” (Ossman, 2004:112).

In the 1950s, large-scale, long-distance migration of unskilled labour migrants was initiated in the pattern of *chain migration* with people following the first immigrants to the new country. However, in its most recent aspect, the phenomenon of migration is increasingly changing into a temporary or circular form (Vertovec, 2007b). However, as Kerswill (2006) notes, over time it has become harder to distinguish between *forced* and *voluntary* migration on the basis of the motivation that makes the individual move from one place to another, whereas the *seasonal* or *circulatory* patterns of migration tend to merge with those of *long-term* ones.

Triggered by either the intrinsic “roving instinct” to human nature (King, 2012:4), or wars, colonialism, natural disasters and economical reasons, these movements of population have contributed to the creation of an increasingly globalized world. Waters defines the ever-growing phenomenon of globalization as the “social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, political, social and cultural arrangements recede, in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding and in which people act accordingly” (Waters, 2001: 5). In his seminal text *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*, Appadurai analyzes globalization through its cultural dimension, describing it as “the global culture of the hyperreal” (Appadurai, 1996:29). Referring to media imperialism, the author considers global cultural exchanges not just as Americanization of the world but as a “much subtler play of indigenous trajectories of desire and fear with global flow of people and things” (Appadurai, 1996:29) that include irony; global cultural exchanges are seen as cultural imaginaries that originate from a specific context of referential world and are reproduced by people whose lives are not in complete synchrony with this world, but rather live in an imagined culture. The author concedes that migration and media are basic features of the global world and that they produce different cultural spheres in different countries. In addition, migration and the media are interconnected, they create irregularities and have a shared impact on imagination “as a social practice” (Appadurai, 1996:31).

Expanding this analysis further and focusing on the implications of globalization, Pennycook (2010, 2007) also considers globalization not only in terms of economic relations but also in terms of social, cultural and political relations. In a critic of previous views of sociolinguistic globalization (for example, Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) the author argues against the approach of cultural and linguistic imperialism; an approach that is closely related to the concept of globalization when it is viewed through the world system theory (Wallerstein, 2004). According to Pennycook this is a limited view of globalization that fails “to grasp the current modes of power” (Pennycook, 2007:28). Global culture is viewed by the author as *circles of flow*, an expression that he uses to refer to the “large networks in which highly diverse forms circulate and are exchanged, and which can overlap and blend together” (Blommaert, 2010:19). Although Pennycook does not ignore the detrimental effects of globalization in general, he is interested in its cultural implications and in how cultural norms spread and change in cultural and linguistic flows as “part of a reorganization of the local” (Pennycook, 2007:7) instead of just as processes of homogenization. Following Appadurai (1996), Pennycook agrees that globalization does not just entail cultural homogenization but constitutes a “deeply historical uneven and even localizing process” (Appadurai, 1996:11). Pennycook (2010) points out that although globalization is related to global inequalities

regarding poverty, health and education, it would be a very limited view to consider it as synonymous to these inequalities or as simply reflecting them.

Although migration is an old phenomenon in the history of the world, in its contemporary version, that of *new migration*, it is associated with advances in communications and information technology (Blommaert, 2010). Under this scope, Blommaert views globalization as “a sociolinguistic subject matter” (Blommaert, 2010:4) because the mobility of people also involves the mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources. Globalization is therefore represented as “a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways” (Blommaert, 2010:1). The author characterizes the current globalization phase as *geocultural*; an outcome of “the emergence of new communication technologies, increasing and intensified global capitalist processes of accumulation and division of labor, increased and intensified global inequalities resulting in new migration flows” (Blommaert, 2010:14). Blommaert focuses on the concept of power that is involved in real-world dynamics of globalization, a topic that is relevant to the domain of migration. In the world system theory, globalization involves an “overall division of labour” (Wallerstein, 2004:24) that is based on inequality between poor and rich states. Blommaert’s argument is based on the fact that inequality is the main product of power; a power that categorizes people in modern societies. According to the author, language is a “core ingredient of the mechanisms of state power in the field of migration” (Blommaert, 2010:154). It constitutes a domain where the effects of state power are becoming stronger under globalization processes “that perpetuate old forms of linguistic inequality and create new forms in their stride” (Blommaert, 2010:154). According to the author, globalization offers opportunities to people who can expand their resources to different spaces, but is constraining for those who lack such resources because the emphasis of contemporary social realities falls upon old and new patterns of inequality making language an obstacle for some. Blommaert warns that globalization has winners and losers, a top and a bottom and, of course, centers and peripheries. As he points out, there are still a large number of people who have no access to the new communication technologies that enhance the globalization processes, whereas the elites in their countries are in a position to pursue the power and opportunities that in their turn will affect the lives of those people who remain *un-globalized*. On the other hand, immigrants from poor countries into richer societies, not only have changed the urban centers but have caused reactions such as those expressed through racist or fascist groups and also “generated a heightened awareness of politicized identities, of ethnolinguistic nationalism and of national chauvinism” (Blommaert, 2010:3). Furthermore, the core of multilingualism has also changed and new



markets for linguistic and communicative resources have emerged where linguistic resources may be found to have high or low value in the globalized society.

### **2.1. Linguistic aspects of migration.**

“Migration and language interact in a complex, yet transparent way. Chiefly, migration leads to language or dialect contact, and is, indeed, the prime cause of such contact” (Kerswill, 2006:19). Kerswill characterizes migration as an extra-linguistic factor that results to externally-motivated language change. Thus, the interaction between language and migration leads to language contact; in its turn, the outcome of language contact is normally language change (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999).

Exploring the concept of language contact in depth, Matras (2009) points out that, in fact, the notion of contact is a metaphor. The author puts forward the view that contact is not about languages influencing each other but about how the individual, multilingual speaker processes language and how he makes use of it in communicative interaction along with the factors and motives that affect this interaction that matter; “language systems do not genuinely touch or even influence one another... It is therefore the multilingual speaker’s interaction and the factors and motivations that shape it that deserve our attention in the study of language contact” (Matras, 2009:3). Under this scope, as the author explains, the concept of contact-induced language change implies the result of the innovations the individual speaker brings into discourse; in other words, the strategies that assist him in order to make the most of his bilingual repertoire in his effort to comply with the norms and expectations of society, while making selections according to context. The diachrony of a language may not be shaped by the changes that are introduced by an isolated individual, yet “no societal process can lead to language change unless it prompts individuals to innovate their own speech” (Matras, 2009:310).

If one examines the sociolinguistic impact of contact-induced change in a migration context, they would realize how change affects the society of origin, the host society and the individual (Kerswill, 2006). According to the author, the immigrant populations become economically active, forming ethnolinguistic minorities that interact with the host society. Sociolinguistic phenomena that stem from contact-induced change can be found in the history of migration such as *pidginization*, *creolisation*, *koineisation* and *language islands*. Another possible outcome of language contact, that constitutes one of the core interests of this research, is the phenomenon of *language shift*. Triggered by causes such as migration, industrialization and economic change (Clyne, 2003), language shift is the situation when a

social group abandons the language of the country of origin through time, to replace it with the language of the mainstream, host society (Hamers and Blanc, 2004). The phenomenon of language shift, a basic interest of this study, is further investigated in chapter 4.

As mentioned above, a possible repercussion of the way globalization affects language, derives from the view that local languages are often replaced by global ones (Mar-Molinero, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 2010). The reasons for such outcomes vary and will be investigated in this study by analyzing recorded data and data from the participants' linguistic biographies. In brief, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson elucidate these reasons as follows: "Formal education and media in dominant languages are the most important direct factors behind the macroeconomic, techno - military, social and political causes of linguistic genocide" (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 2010:78).

Discussing how languages function in an uneven world and how they relate to global inequalities, Pennycook remarks that technology and communication advance creating "complex flows of people, signs and sounds images across multiple borders in multiple directions" (Pennycook, 2010:593). Circles of cultural flow are complex and diverse: "The languages and cultures that circulate within these flows are constantly mixed with other languages and cultures, so that new mixtures arrive in new places and remix once again as they become relocalized" (Pennycook, 2010:594). Mixing, borrowing and shifting -not only of languages but also of ideas- emerge from these flows. The language choices that the individual makes in this globalized world, become part of the local conditions such as economy, language policies and ideologies. As Pennycook argues, language choices do not only reflect social circumstances but "may actively resist current ways of thinking and produce new ways of thinking about languages and their meaning" (Pennycook, 2010:604). Thus, Pennycook discusses the issue of homogenization of culture through the use of global English, drawing attention not just on how "it is taking over from other languages" (Pennycook, 2010:118), but mainly on the measures that are taken to oppose it, urging us to rethink our grasp of the concepts such as language, language spread, "native" speakers or multilingualism concluding that "indeed, globalization requires us to consider whether we should continue to think of languages as separate, distinguishable, countable entities" (Pennycook, 2010:115).

Forms of new migration often follow a circular pattern with frequent contact with the home country through the development of technology, especially in regards with communication and transportation; "the concepts of time and space have been altered forever, with inevitable consequences for the basic unit of communication – the language" (Mar-Molinero,

2010: 169). As migrants move from one country to another, they bring along their diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). Therefore, in the 1990s the nature, structure and profile of migration changed due to several variables that affect the migrants' lives, the authors remark. Accelerated globalization has led to an increase as well as to an alteration of the concept of diversity in its linguistic, social and cultural aspect (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011). Viewed not only in terms of ethnicity but in a multidimensional perspective, diversity becomes super-diversity, a term that implies the interplay of the variables that have an effect on the migrants' lives (Vertovec, 2007a). Communities with extreme linguistic diversity are formed, with combinations of lingua francas and fragmented migrant minorities' languages resulting to complex, multilingual repertoires that reflect the "fragmented and highly diverse life-trajectories and environments of such people" (Blommaert, 2010:7). The author uses as examples of super-diverse communities the groups of Turks in Germany, Algerians in France or South Asians. Albanian immigrant children in Greece is another such group, with the Albanian part of their bilingual repertoires fragmented, as it will be exemplified in this study (see Chapter 6).

Blommaert (2010) points out that the question we need to consider is what the notion of language means in particular contexts. The author remarks that "no-one knows all of a language. That counts for our so-called mother tongues and, of course, also for the other 'languages' we acquire in our life time. Native speakers are not perfect speakers." (Blommaert, 2010:103). Blommaert explains how some parts of our multilingual repertoires may be at a basic level and others may develop more. More specifically, in the situation of immigrant children, parents speak to them in a language they can understand but may never learn to speak as it constitutes part of their repertoire but only in a receptive form. On the other hand, immigrant children tend to be much better at speaking the language of the host society. All these phenomena are closely related to the trans-local aspect of language according to which language follows people across space and time. "Language is not just a tool for the construction of locality, it is also a tool for mobility" (Blommaert and Dong, 2010:382).

According to Blommaert and Backus the individual's repertoires are "the result of polycentric learning experiences" (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:15). The authors remark that patterns of language learning follow the individual's biography since speech practices and communication resources depend largely on his various stages of life; "repertoires are biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of human lives" (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:9). In addition, the ways the individual learns a language, ways that can be both formal and informal, are the outcomes of a variety of

linguistic and sociolinguistic resources. Therefore, different modes of learning result in different levels of competence. Eventually, all those “language and literacy resources combine into repertoires, and such repertoires reflect the polycentricity of the learning environments in which the speaker dwells” (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:15).

The authors find four categories of competence levels with regard to all the languages the individual has formally or informally learned during his life trajectory; from maximum competence, to partial, minimal and recognizing competence. At the level of maximum competence the individual has developed oral as well as literacy skills that he is able to distribute in productive and receptive form in formal and informal contexts and over a variety of genres and styles, according to the authors. At partial competence the individual’s skills are not developed enough to cover a variety of “genres, registers, styles, production and reception, and formal and informal social arenas” (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:16). At the level of minimal competence, the individual can understand and produce “a number of messages from certain languages, confined to a very restricted range of genres and social domains” (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:17). At the level of recognizing competence, the individual can recognize “sounds and/or scripts of a language” (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:17). The authors conclude that repertoires are combinations of resources that, however unevenly they may be distributed, they have specific functions while they reveal the individual’s modes of learning through time and place. Applying Blommaert and Backus’ framework to this study, it appears that for the majority of the participants the level of their skills in Albanian ranged from minimal to recognizing competence, with some of them not having any knowledge of Albanian at all. This is mainly due to lack of support of this language by the Greek educational system and community networks and lack of proper transmission by the parents, whereas L1 is mostly used for symbolic reasons (see Chapter 6).

Second-language acquisition, multilingual communication practices, borrowing and language shift may all be outcomes of contact-induced change that follows migration. All these phenomena will be explored in the following chapters of this study, in order to present the theoretical premise that will explain how the participants of this study acquired their languages and how they use them. Within a migration context one salient fact is noticeable, that the individual is motivated to become bilingual due to social mobility and the need to earn an income, in other words due to *instrumental motivation* (Myers-Scotton, 2006). However, “not all first generation immigrants become bilingual but it is almost always a feature of the second generation with a likely reversion to monolingualism (but in the dominant language, not their parents’ mother tongue) by the third generation” (Myers-

Scotton, 2006:53). As it will be exemplified in chapter 4 of this study, in many cases bilingualism is asymmetrical and results in language shift (Garcia, 2003).

An issue that deserves the researcher's attention is the strong relationship between language and integration of immigrants in the host country. The multiple functions of language make it a crucial tool for individual and for societal integration that allows access to communication, education and to the labour market (Esser, 2006). As far as it concerns social integration that constitutes an interest of the present research, there are four types of it: *marginality*, *ethnic segmentation*, *assimilation* and *multiple inclusion*. In the case of *marginality*, the individual faces exclusion from both the host society and the ethnic group, whereas *ethnic segmentation* implies inclusion in the ethnic group only (Esser, 2006). On the other hand, assimilation implies inclusion in the host society only, while multiple inclusion implies inclusion in both systems. The aim of integration through *assimilation* is the cultural homogeneity of society; on the other hand, *multiculturalism* aims at a pluralist society with the promotion of cultural diversity (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999). In reference to the situation of the Albanian immigrants in Greece, the model of implicit assimilation is applied, despite the efforts to implement the policy of intercultural education that remain fragmented and insufficient (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011; Damanakis, 2005; Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; European Commission, 2013; Mitakidou et al., 2009; Milesi and Pashaliori, 2008). The Greek school retains its monolingual, homogenizing character and ignores the cultural and linguistic background of the immigrant students, as the inadequate structures of their education reflect the national policies of the governments (see Chapter 3).

Exploring the process of integration from the immigrant individual's point of view, Berry (2001) finds that the strategy of assimilation implies that immigrant groups seek interaction with other cultures instead of aspiring to maintain their cultural heritage. In cases of *separation*, immigrants wish to preserve their original culture, avoiding interaction with other cultures, whereas *integration* implies both maintaining one's original culture and engaging in daily interactions with other groups. *Marginalization* implies lack of maintenance of the migrant individual's original culture as well as lack of involvement in the culture of the host society due to reasons such as enforced cultural loss, exclusion or discrimination.

An innovative view on integration has been established by Blommaert (2010), who finds that in the context of new migration advances in communication enable immigrants to maintain contacts with networks beyond the host society and with their country of origin, making it possible to follow events there and use its media and cultural products. Under these circumstances the author concludes that "the presuppositions of common integration policies

-that we know who the immigrants are, and that they have a shared language and culture-can no longer be upheld" (Blommaert, 2010:7). Spatial organization is not just local and real but also translocal and virtual and affects the immigrants' patterns of language use, according to the author. Nevertheless, what is considered as normal is defined by the homogenizing mechanism according to which the norms of the "centre" are supposed to be the valid ones and guarantee social mobility and success. Failing to comply with these norms is considered by the host society as abnormality and marginality, Blommaert asserts. Education, of course, plays a role in this "as a system designed for cultural and social reproduction" (Blommaert, 2010:80). Yet, these homogenizing approaches to differences lead to an unequal society, ignoring or underestimating the local dynamics in parts of the system. Marginality does not necessarily imply failure to meet specific norms, but rather the production of different but related norms, according to Blommaert.

Research in immigrant policy development (Berry, 2001) has found that integration is the most positive individual and group acculturation strategy; also, multiculturalism is the most positive public policy in order to avoid intergroup conflict, acculturative stress and achieve mutual accommodation and positive adaptation. For integration to be successful, the receiving society should be multicultural, accepting cultural diversity and eager to adapt national institutions that "meet the needs of all groups now living together in the larger plural society" (Berry, 2001:619). Furthermore, elements such as the elimination of prejudice and discrimination and the emphasis on positive similarities in the attitudes of the ethnocultural groups involved, must be prevalent. On the other hand, it is important that immigrants adopt the basic values of the receiving society. However, as Brizić (2006) remarks, educational and linguistic success in the host society is not only an outcome of linguistic assimilation, since factors such as a positive attitude towards both languages as well as towards both societies involved play a significant role. Referring to the immigrant individual's relationship to his languages as *linguistic identity*, Brizić concludes that "linguistic identity should present itself as a flexible identity, neither adhering exclusively to the L1 nor rigidly rejecting the L1 in favour of the L2" ( Brizić, 2006:345).

As Extra and Verhoeven (1999) remark, from a historical point of view, perceptions on groups of immigrants in Europe bear two major characteristics. First, groups of immigrants are considered as foreigners "implying an exclusion which is the outcome of how the notions of citizenship and nationality are interpreted. Perceptions on nationality are based on "ius sanguinis" (law of the blood) in terms of which nationality derives from parental origins, in contrast to ius solis (law of the ground) in terms of which nationality derives from the country of birth" (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999:4). The second characteristic is the focus of integration,

a term that implies a spectrum ranging from assimilation to multiculturalism, as it was elucidated above. However, what really happens, for example in most European societies, is a tendency to assimilate minority groups, according to the authors. Languages of migrant minorities are perceived as obstacles in the process of integration. Perceptions also affect education, as the need of changes in curricula have emerged: they either focus on the learning of the language of the majority society as an essential prerequisite for academic success and the labour market, or on the creation of multicultural schools, the authors assert. More often than not, immigrant groups have to use the dominant language in order to communicate in the host society and learn it as L2, whereas the language of origin is used for communication within the group, often serving as symbol of ethnic identity; “the common pattern is that the minority language recedes under the influence of an increasing utilization of the majority language because the latter has a higher utility and prestige” (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999:31). This has detrimental effects on the individual’s identity and his cognitive and academic development (Romaine, 1995; Banks, 2001; Cummins, 2000, 2001, 2003; Garcia, 2003; Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Garcia, 2009; Paradis et al., 2011). Lack of exposure to the minority language may result in its impaired acquisition and this, in turn, may lead to language change in the future generations (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999). Appel and Muysken (2005) set forward the following arguments with regard to the significance of L1 as the medium of instruction: it ensures that academic progress, cognitive, personality and self-esteem development are not obstructed; according to the *threshold hypothesis* (Cummins, 1979, 1981a), a certain level of competence in L1 is necessary in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages; it alleviates the cultural shock caused by the transfer from the country of origin to the host country; it is a precondition for the successful acquisition of the majority language according to the *interdependence hypothesis* (Cummins, 1979, 1981b); it prevents the forced linguistic and cultural assimilation of minority groups, enriching the host society through cultural pluralism to the benefit of not only immigrant groups, but of the host country too; it helps reduce sociopolitical crises and improves relationships between minority groups and the host society through the recognition of their language and culture .

According to Brizić (2006), the immigrant individual is motivated to acquire competence in the language of the host society, since it is linguistic competence in the relevant language that determines access to social institutions, education, increase of income and social contact. Whether the individual will acquire the new language and/or preserve the language of the country of origin depends not only on learning and interaction, but also on social conditions. Factors such as motivation, access, skills and the costs associated with learning play an important role. Therefore, the conditions in the country of origin and the immigration country, the existence of ethnic communities, individual and family living conditions and the

specific circumstances of migration are important parameters (Brizić, 2006), as well as parental input, age at migration, the duration of stay in the host country, the parents' age at migration and their language skills (Esser, 2006). On the other hand, linguistic and socio-cultural distance between the host society and the group of immigrants as well as the high level of ethnic concentration, contacts and the availability of media in the language of origin constitute obstacles in the process of second language acquisition by immigrants (Esser, 2006). Therefore, maintenance of the home language does not depend only on schooling, and involvement of the home and community is fundamental.

The notion of identity lies at the heart of the discussion on language and integration in the host society; "the relationship between language and identity is not static but a dynamic phenomenon" (Extra & Barni, 2008:9). It has undergone trans-national changes in the national arena of the EU nations, the European arena and the global one, resulting in the development of trans-national citizenship and transnational multiple identities, the authors point out. These multiple identities enable the individual to identify with more than one nation-state (Extra and Barni, 2008); the recognition of multiple trans-national identities and the competence to be able to handle cultural diversity and heterogeneity constitute basic features of the European identity. The authors remark that languages of immigrant minority groups have not been protected in the EU since they are often considered by policy makers and by mainstream population an obstacle in the process to integration. Therefore, the role of education of immigrant children is crucial. The different models that have been adapted and the underpinning ideologies are presented in the subchapter that follows.

## **2.2. Approaches to educating migrant children**

Two opposed ideologies, the assimilationist and the pluralistic, set the framework for the types of education of bilingual immigrant children, raising political debate over these two approaches (Baker, 2006). According to Banks, assimilation implies that the cultural groups abandon their heritage culture and adopt the culture of the majority group. This model entails rejection of teaching the language of origin and of the diverse students' cultural background. Research has shown that assimilation involves the gradual elimination of the elements of the immigrants' cultural identities and the degradation of traditional elements (Banks, 2001). The assimilationist / transitional model aims at using the L1 mainly "in the early grades, since its most important function is to bridge the gap between the home and the school. In fact, the minority language is only used in school to make it easier for the child to adjust to existing educational demands" (Appel & Muysken, 2005:65). Homogeneous, monocultural classes are formed, but the assimilated students are offered limited learning opportunities. As Appel



and Muysken (2005) point out, the assimilationist / transitional model has been criticized as leading to the “linguicide” of minority languages.

When assimilation is *explicit*, language minority children are required to take monolingual education in language majority classes (Baker, 2006). In cases of *implicit* assimilation, the students are considered as individuals with special needs that are dealt with compensatory forms of education, Baker remarks. In the case of *concealed* assimilation, however, it is the method of measuring (which is based on majority language criteria) that accomplishes the aim towards monolingual education. Baker, however, explains that there is also the possibility that the immigrant groups seek assimilation; for instance, most immigrants in the US acquire the language of the host society, English, very fast, giving up on their languages. This attitude reveals their intrinsic motivation to be assimilated in the host society, according to the author.

As opposed to this approach, pluralism supports the maintenance of heritage culture in combination with the culture of the host country (Baker, 2006). The aim of the *pluralistic* or *maintenance* model is the promotion of linguistic pluralism through recognition of the significance of the ethnic/ cultural groups’ languages, referred to as *immigrant minority languages* (Extra and Barni, 2008). According to this model, the immigrant minority language is not only used as the “initial medium of instruction” (Appel and Muysken, 2005:65), but is used throughout the curriculum in order to support its maintenance. Baker adds that this model aims at the promotion of the minority language “strengthening the child’s sense of cultural identity and affirming the rights of an ethnic minority group in a nation” (Baker, 2006:213).

Despite the positive arguments for the *pluralistic/ maintenance* model, it is the *assimilationist /transitional* model that is more widely used under the pressure of mainstream society for assimilation of immigrant groups (Appel and Muysken, 2005). The authors identify the following possible reasons: sociopolitical reasons (in order to maintain cultural identity, political/ social unity of a country through education); lack of educational resources; to ensure a positive socio-economic future for minority children; negative attitudes towards L1 by the parents.

When language is considered a problem the policy of assimilation is implemented through *weak forms* of bilingual education (Baker, 2006). These are approaches that promote monolingualism or limit bilingualism, as opposed to the *strong forms* that produce bilingualism, biculturalism and biliteracy and recognize the value of language as the

individual's right, according to the author. Examples of weak forms are the *transitional* and the *mainstream with foreign language teaching* approaches, since they intend to achieve a fast switch to the majority language. On the other hand, *immersion* and *mainstream/heritage language* are considered as strong ones (Baker, 2006).

In the mainstream education (Barnard, 2009; Carrasquillo and Rodríguez, 2000; Reeves, 2006) and submersion education approaches (Fazio and Lyster, 1998), students are put in mainstream classes with fluent speakers and are instructed in the majority language. They are expected to use the majority language only, without any assisting language lessons being offered. A variation of this model in the US is *structured immersion* (Baker, 2006); programs attended by language minority children only and conducted in the majority language in a simplified form. In addition, the approach of *sheltered English* programs is used in the US as an alternative to ESL (English as a Second Language). "Sheltered" implies that students "do not compete academically with native English speakers since the class includes only LEP (limited-English-proficient) students... teachers use physical activities, visual aids, and the environment to teach important new words for concept development in mathematics, science, history, home economics, and other subjects" (Freeman and Freeman, 1988:2). In *content-based ESL* (Baker, 2006; Stoller, 2004, 2008) English is not just taught as a language but other parts of the curriculum are taught in English as well. Content-based instruction (CBI) has both language and content learning objectives. Instead of defining "primary content in terms of grammatical structures, communicative language functions or language skills, in CBI content refers to the use of non language subject matter that is closely aligned with traditional school subjects, themes of interest to students, or vocational and occupational areas" (Stoller, 2008:59). As Stoller (2004) reports, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is an approach used in many countries in the European Community during the last ten years.

With regard to *submersion education*, Appel and Muysken explain that "in submersion education the children's first language is neglected totally, and the only provisions made consist of extra second language courses in the majority language" (Appel and Muysken, 2005:67). As Baker (2006) notes, the mainstream and submersion education have been criticized as they do not cover the needs of the immigrant minority children. Instead, the aim is to assimilate them. In addition, there are usually problems with the children's social and emotional adjustment that may result in drop-outs from school. Not only the child's language is depreciated and discounted, but his and his parents' identity as well. Furthermore, the child's community and culture are ignored; his self esteem is denied as well as his roots and even his race, according to the author. Moreover, there is too much stress caused while

listening to a new language since this demands high concentration, it is tiring and may result in lack of self-confidence (Baker, 2006). Appel and Muysken characterize such approaches as “monolingual majority programmes which lead to 'brutal assimilation' of minority children” (Appel and Muysken, 2005:65). Submersion programs, for example, have been implemented for young learners of French as L2 in French-language schools in Montreal, Quebec (Fazio and Lyster, 1998).

*Transitional bilingual education* (Baker, 2006; Gersten and Woodward, 1995) is an approach according to which the immigrant students are taught in their home language, gradually decreasing its use in the classroom and increasing the use of the majority language until the student is proficient enough in the majority language to continue with mainstream education. Its aim is “to shift the child from the home minority language to the dominant majority language” (Baker, 2006: 213), social and cultural assimilation implied. The author remarks how this approach differs from submersion because language minority students are allowed to use their home language temporarily and are taught their home language just until they become proficient enough in the majority language to continue in mainstream classes. As Baker (2006) points out, *transitional bilingual education* has been criticized as an assimilationist approach that reproduces progress and power differences, perpetuating the problems of immigrant children. A *transitional bilingual education* program requires so much time for the teaching of the mainstream language that the academic content and the cognitive demands of the remainder curriculum are neglected (Baker, 2006). The author remarks that this type of education is detrimental in promoting the students’ skills in the home language and its significance in cognitive and academic competency that is already available through the home language, denying at the same time the students’ identity and self-respect. “Instead of building upon existing language proficiency and knowledge, the “sink or swim” approach attempts to replace such language abilities. When a child shows underachievement there are frequent demands for more of the same medicine” (Baker 2006:206). An example of this approach is the transitional bilingual program in Texas, El Paso, studied by Gersten and Woodward (1995) with school subjects taught in Spanish, the students’ primary language. The aim is to develop the students’ speaking, writing and reading comprehension skills with the teaching of English as a foreign language starting in the 1st grade for one hour. Academic instruction in English starts at a later stage of 2nd grade and develops gradually. “When students’ English skills have developed to a certain point, they begin the transitional phase (formal reading instruction in English) of the program and receive instruction in English during content-area classes” (Gersten and Woodward, 1995:228).

In another approach to bilingual education, the *immersion* approach (Genesee and Jared, 2008; Rubin and Turner, 1989; Swain and Lapkin, 1991; Turnbull et al., 2001; Cummins, 1998; Genesee, 2009) language minority children are instructed part of the curriculum through the majority language. Immersion programs have been implemented, for example in Quebec, Canada, for young learners of French as L2 in English-language schools (Fazio and Lyster, 1998). According to Appel and Muysken, it is “a special bilingual education model for speakers of the dominant or the most prestigious language” (Appel and Muysken, 2005:66). The authors elucidate the difference between *early* and *late* immersion. In *early immersion* (Genesee and Jared, 2008), participation in immersion classes is voluntary. The second language is used in the first stages of instruction and in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th class the first language is used to introduce language skills. Later, this language is used in content subjects such as history. In *late immersion* (Hau et al., 2000; Ramirez et al., 1991), the second language is introduced in a later stage of elementary education.

Baker (2006) notes that the *dual language approach* (Hammer et al., 2014; Howard and Christian, 2002; Smith, 2001; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Mora et al., 2001; Collier and Thomas, 2004) and the *heritage language approach* (Li and Duff, 2008; Cummins, 1995; Swain and Lapkin, 1991; Peyton et al., 2001), where the minority language is the medium of instruction, are effective in order to confront underachievement of bilinguals, pointing out that this is where the solution to their problem can be found instead of dealing with lack of exposure in the majority language. Appel and Muysken also agree that “children from disadvantaged or oppressed linguistic minority groups generally profit from bilingual programmes in which their first language plays an important role” (Appel and Muysken, 2005:71). In the *dual language education* approach, both languages are considered as having equal status, they are both used for instruction and the classes consist of equal numbers of language minority and language majority students. The aim of this approach is to produce balanced and biliterate bilinguals (Baker 2006). Examples can be found in the large number of dual language education programs that have been implemented in urban, suburban and rural regions in the US for the last two decades (Collier and Thomas, 2004) and the English-Spanish programs in Texas (Calderón, 1995). The *heritage language bilingual education* approach (HL) (Cummins, 2005) aims at the preservation of the ethnic language and culture as “children use their native, ethnic, home or heritage language in the school as a medium of instruction with the goal of full bilingualism” (Baker, 2006:238). Examples of heritage language programs are those implemented in Canada since the 1990s (Cummins, 1995) and programs with Chinese as a HL in the US and Canada (Li and Duff, 2008). However, in general terms, school does not support the maintenance of immigrant languages (Garcia, 2003). Even in those cases when parents speak the language of origin at home, children are exposed to the

dominant language of the receiving society by older siblings and playmates. With school unsupportive of teaching the ethnic home language “resultant exposure to that language is minimal and productive skills in the language are severely limited” (Garcia, 2003:28). The author remarks how such encouragement of monolingualism in the societally dominant language may also cause identity crises to bilingual children.

Garcia’s remarks in many ways apply to the situation of Albanian immigrant children in Greece. The Albanian language is not supported by the educational system or the group’s networks and it is mainly used at home with parents and grandparents only, according to the data I have collected (see Chapter 6). Therefore, exposure to L1 is minimal as the Greek school retains its monolingual and homogenizing character, due to lack of proper teacher training and reflecting the national policies of the governments (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011; Damanakis, 2005; Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; European Commission, 2013; Mitakidou et al., 2009; Milesi and Pashaliori, 2008).

### **2.3. Conclusions**

The overview of research findings on these topics provides valuable conclusions with regard to the focus of the present study which analyses patterns of language use by Albanian immigrant children in Greece. Starting with the contemporary conditions of the migration context in Greece, the typology of the category of *migrant* can be implemented in order to identify the features of Albanian migration to Greece. The interjecting terms of *forced* as opposed to *voluntary* and *labour immigrant* are important for the purposes of this study that include the phenomenon of large-scale migration of labour immigrants from Albania to Greece. The research subjects come from families of migrants who may have been considered as voluntary migrants, but at the same time the characterization is debatable in this case due to the economic motivations that made the pursuit of a better life a necessity for these families.

The changes that have occurred within the context of new migration are important for the present research insofar as they introduce changes not only to the theoretical foundations of the study of language but also to the way it considers the linguistic repertoires of the immigrant individual. In the globalized world, the structure of people’s repertoires also changed from what used to be considered as “native” languages to complex, multilingual patterns of language use (Myers-Scotton, 2006; Blommaert and Dong, 2010). As Matras (2009) remarks, in language contact situations it is important to explore the strategies that the bilingual individual employs while managing his linguistic repertoire. It remains to be

investigated how the individual multilingual speaker, in this case the Albanian immigrant child, processes both languages Albanian and Greek, how he makes use of them in communicative interaction and which factors and motives affect this interaction. Considering how language is one of the mechanisms of state power, as well as a mechanism that creates inequality among immigrant individuals (Blommaert, 2010), this study will shed light into how the language of mainstream society, as opposed to the language of origin, contributes to the structure of such inequalities creating possibilities or barriers.

The relationship between language and integration regarding both languages, Albanian and Greek, constitutes one of the key points for this study. The Greek educational system attempts to assimilate minority language groups as it will be exemplified in chapter 3. Greek reality follows Garcia's (2003) description about how minority languages -in this case Albanian- are implicitly perceived as obstacles in the process of education of immigrant children and the focus lies on the learning of the language of the majority society. The language of origin, on the other hand, appears to serve as a symbol of ethnic identity by the research participants.

In order to comprehend the outcomes of language contact for the research participants, their motivations and needs, a deeper understanding of the Albanian immigrants is needed. This study will proceed with an overview of the Albanian migration to Greece from a historical point of view. It is equally necessary to exemplify the Greek social and educational reality before presenting the research methodology, procedure and results in the remaining chapters.

### Chapter 3

#### Albanian migration to Greece

##### **Introduction**

Albania is a country that has undergone one of the most massive emigrations after the dismantling of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the communist regime in 1989 (King and Vullnetari, 2003). According to census results in 2002 (INSTAT, 2002), only from 1990 to 2000 about 600.000 Albanians immigrated to Greece and Italy. More specifically, 65% of the total number of applicants for a white card in Greece during the first regularisation programme of 1998 were Albanians (Lazaridis and Koumandraki, 2007). At this point it should be noted that a *regularisation programme* is the procedure that is implemented by the Greek state in order to legalise irregular immigrants (Fakiolas, 2003; King, 2012; Levinson, 2005).

On the basis of the evidence currently available, it seems fair to suggest that Albanian migration was a movement of chaotic and illegal manner, as they entered the country in large numbers and in ways that violated the Greek laws (King and Vullnetari, 2003; King et al., 1998). As King et al. report, in 1998 there were at least 300,000 Albanians in Greece working in the black economy, nearly one-tenth of the Albanian population and around 7% of the labour force in Greece; “the scale of these figures makes the emigration from Albania to Greece unique amongst recent migratory movements in Europe” (King et al., 1998:161). As it will be shown in this chapter, the reasons for such extensive migration are various and related to politics, demography, economy and culture. However, the available evidence seems to suggest that the main reason has been poverty. Barjaba’s (2000) term *economic refugees* reflects the way the economically driven immigrants tended to view themselves, emphasizing on how the element of economic collapse was inextricably related to their decision to migrate (King and Vullnetari, 2003; Papailias, 2003).

Apart from being mainly a survival strategy, migration to Greece was also a strategy “of acquiring short-term financial capitalist experiences” (King and Vullnetari, 2003:29) before migrating to another western country because Albanians viewed Greece as the key to the door to the European Union. However, many families who had children that attended school settled permanently in Greece. Today Albanian migration to Greece and Italy is not so much about survival but rather about the improvement of the Albanians’ economic situation, a better future for their children, more jobs and study opportunities and an escape from financial and social constraints (King and Vullnetari, 2003; Hatziprokopiou, 2003).

While Chapter 2 of this study presented the broader context of migration, the relationship between migration and language and the variety of educational approaches for immigrant, bilingual children, Chapter 3 gives an overview of the Albanian migration to Greece. The historical and social aspects of the Albanian migration to Greece are summarized with an emphasis on the motivations for migrating and the conditions that affect the immigrants' reception by the host society. In addition, the relationship between the receiving and the sending countries is elucidated. Furthermore, the present situation, as far as it concerns the presence of Albanian immigrants in the receiving society, is described according to census data. Finally, the policies and structures of education of Albanian immigrant children are presented, including the criticism these policies have been subjected to by current research on the issue of intercultural approach in the Greek educational system. Chapter 3 will close with the formulation of conclusions that will further reveal the broader context in which this research took place and the parameters that should be taken into consideration in the analysis of data and the formulation of the research conclusions.

### **3.1. A historical overview of the Albanian migration to Greece.**

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a wave of migration started in Albania, due to the new socioeconomic conditions caused by the collapse of the feudal regime and the spread of capitalism. Poor peasants were forced to migrate to many different countries due to desperate economic circumstances. By the 1930s there were 400.000 Albanians in Greece and the remittances (in other words, the funds sent by the immigrants to their country) were used for the development of the rural infrastructure (King et al., 1998; Vullnetari, 2007).

In World War II, Albania came under Italian occupation until 1943 when German forces took over. In 1944 the Germans left the country and a communist party prevailed by implementing a reform program that created a "state-controlled" socialist society (King and Vullnetari, 2003:7). According to literature, Albania had been the most politically isolated country in Europe, maybe even in the whole world, for 45 years (King et al., 1998; King and Vullnetari, 2003; Vullnetari, 2007). The heavily militarized frontiers with machine guns, bunkers and high voltage fences along the border with Greece reflect what King et al. characterize as "a virtual state of war" (King et al, 1998:4) that Albania sustained for decades until 1987. It was within this political frame that free movement of the population was denied and regarded as treason, punished by death or imprisonment, whereas internal mobility was controlled too (Vullnetari, 2007).



In March 1991, 25.000 Albanians headed to Southern Italy finding the Italian authorities unprepared for them. When Italy accepted them, 20.000 more followed in August 1991 (King and Vullnetari, 2003; Vullnetari, 2007). In 1991, an even larger number of Albanians migrated to Greece, but this migration was not well documented. By 1995, 20% of the population had left Albania. Still, the unemployment rate was at 20% and the economy deteriorated, sparking another wave of migration (King and Vullnetari, 2003).

In 1999, 800.000 Albanians had emigrated; 200.000 to Italy and 500.000 to Greece (an approximate estimation of both documented and undocumented migrants since 1990) according to the Albanian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (King and Vullnetari, 2003). Those who were undocumented in Greece were periodically repatriated by Greek police operations (Fakiolas, 2003). The term *undocumented* implies that the migrant individual does not occupy the appropriate papers/documents that authorize a legal resident (Maroukis, 2012).

Since 2000, Albania has been going through a politically quiet period and the large-scale-emigration has decelerated. Still, there has been continuing migration to Greece but with no adequate numerical recording of migration rate (King and Vullnetari, 2003; Vullnetari 2007). However, in the more recent years, the Greek economic crisis has affected the group of Albanian immigrants in Greece and from 2008 to 2012 approximately 18 to 20% of these immigrants have returned to Albania (ACIT, 2012).

### **3.2. Albania and Greece: The long-term relationship between the two neighbouring countries.**

For centuries Greece has been known for its tradition of openness and hospitality to travellers, the country of Zeus Xenios (Thorburn, 2006). Moreover, Greece has been an emigration country with thousands of Greeks immigrating to the USA for economic reasons towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, building large Greek communities in the urban areas. After World War II, in the decade between 1950 -1960, even more Greeks left their homeland for countries such as Germany, Australia, Canada and Belgium. It is estimated that post-war emigrants from 1946 to 1977 were about 1.000.000 with 61% of them moving to the countries of North West Europe, especially to Western Germany, whereas about 160.000 settled in Australia, 135.000 in the US and 100.000 in Canada (Ventura, 1999; Kasimis et al., 2012).

Since the 1990s the situation has changed dramatically. Greece became a destination country with a migrant population of approximately 10% of its inhabitants. Gropas and Triantafyllidou describe Greece as a country “with significant numbers of returning migrants, co-ethnic returnees and their descendents; and a transit country for migrants on their way to richer EU economies; and finally, to a destination country with 10% of its population composed of migrants” (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011:400).

In their study Moreno et al. remark that there is lack of credible statistical data regarding Albanian immigrants in Greece, a problem “in part emanating from the illegal status of a considerable proportion of the immigrants” (Moreno et al., 2011:201). Official data on the number of Albanian immigrants in Greece have been available only after the two regularisation programmes (Fakiolas, 2003). The 1998 regularisation provided a figure of 241.561 Albanian immigrants whereas at least 500.000 documented and undocumented Albanian citizens were living in Greece in 2001, 5% of the country’s total population (Vullnetari, 2007). Evidence derived from the regularization programs shows that it was mostly males who left their homeland, at least during the first years, while women joined them later as part of family reunions, followed by their children and grandparents in a traditional pattern of migration. In many cases, however, members of the same family moved to different countries sending remittances back to the homeland (King and Vullnetari, 2003; King et al., 2003).

Literature on Albanian migration seems to validate the view that when the Albanian immigrants arrived in Greece, the receiving society was not ready for such large numbers of them (King et al., 1998; King and Vullnetari, 2003; Vullnetari 2007). The government’s response to the ‘Albanian crisis’, as the Albanian inflow was presented by the local media, has been characterized by researchers as *unsystematic*. Based on research findings, it seems fair to suggest that for many years there was no serious attempt to respond to the new circumstances of such large scale migration, whereas the numerical estimation of Albanian immigrants has been difficult because of the uncontrolled and illegal character of the migration wave.

For the Greek society, Albanians have been identified with low-skilled labour. It is still not rare for people to discriminate jobs in those for immigrants and in better status jobs for Greeks. Employers used to take advantage of the immigrants’ illegal status but recent regularisations have improved the situation (Fakiolas, 2003). It was the difficult economic conditions in their homeland that made Albanians tolerate discrimination and exploitation (King and Vullnetari, 2003). The lack of legal status also caused their exclusion from support

networks, trade unions, social rights and opportunities of employment in the public sector. The majority of those Albanian immigrants who were educated could not find a job according to their qualifications and experience and had to do less skilled work in order to at least make a living. However, they relied heavily on networks of family and friends, especially upon arrival in Greece (Lazaridis and Koumandraki, 2007). In more recent years, the Albanian immigrant organisations are proliferating, mostly dealing with the practical needs of migrants, or focusing on cultural politics (Vullnetari, 2007); still, participation in such organisations is low compared to other immigrant groups.

Albanian immigrants have achieved significant integration in Greece and Italy despite the extensive negative stereotyping they have encountered in both host countries. Although they were initially welcomed by the Greeks, massive arrivals eventually led to negative reaction and stereotypes. According to some researchers, Greece was affected by stereotypes mainly through the media which changed public opinion on criminality and increased social marginalization and prejudice (King et al., 1998; King and Vullnetari, 2003; Triandafyllidou 2002; Vullnetari, 2007).

In the meantime, there was increase of insecurity felt by the Greek population especially in border districts. In urban areas, organized illegal activities of Albanian gangs were reported as “socially stressed living conditions, especially in Athens, made Albanians vulnerable to participation in illicit activities” (King et al., 1998). According to data based on statistics that the Minister of Citizen Protection announced to the Greek Parliament in February 2013 (iefimerida, 2013a), the number of immigrants who had committed crimes had increased from 6.094 in 1998 to 20.265 in 2012. In addition, the largest number of foreign offenders between 1998 and 2012 was of Albanian nationality. The data appear to suggest that a number of 64.939 Albanian perpetrators have been arrested, followed by Iraqis and Romanians (iefimerida, 2013a). King and Vullnetari (2003) note that, compared to Italy, the receiving society in Greece was more affected by stereotyped views about criminality caused by Albanian immigrants. The authors explain that this reflects the appearance of a larger number of Albanians in Greece and the absence of other more prominent migrant nationalities, but also the antagonistic history of Greek - Albanian relations since the Ottoman Empire. Following the conditions of the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, Greece exchanged minority populations with Turkey and Bulgaria. For those religious minorities that remained in Greece the policy of homogenization through assimilation was successfully adapted (Gogonas, 2009). The author explains that the lack of effort for the support of minority languages, such as Albanian, is based on the fact that those languages have been historically related to countries that have exhibited territorial claims in the past.

Added to the above reasons in relation to the negative stereotyping of Albanian immigrants, the attitude of the Greek society was also affected by the presence of ethnic-Greek Albanians, a suppressed minority in Albania (King et al., 1998; King and Vullnetari, 2003). A large number of them immigrated to Greece too and were treated more favourably than Albanians regarding their rights in Greece and the attitude of the Greek population. This led many Albanian migrants to pass themselves off as ethnic Greeks; they “hellenised” their names, accepted Greek orthodox baptism and learned Greek quickly through work and neighbourhood relations.

### **3.3. The policies adopted by the Greek state.**

The 2011 census revealed that from the 10.815.197 people currently living in Greece only 9.903.268 have Greek citizenship (ELSTAT, 2013; Triantafyllidou, 2014). The rest are either citizens of other EU countries (199.101 people), or citizens of other countries outside the EU (708.003 people), whereas 4.825 have no specified citizenship (Appendix 1,2,3). People with Albanian citizenship constitute 52,7% of the total number of foreign citizens resident in Greece, a much larger percentage than Bulgarians (8,3%), Romanians (5,1%), Pakistani (3,7%) and Georgians (3,0%).

The arrival of large numbers of Albanian immigrants rendered the Greek government entirely ill-equipped to react to the situation appropriately as the only legal framework was obsolete, dating back to 1929; a law that concerned the migration of Greeks of the diaspora and the repatriation of emigrants (Vullnetari, 2007). From 1989 to 1993 the Greek government introduced a new immigration policy which was criticized as allocating too much responsibility upon the Ministry of Public Order under a spirit of massive police operations, deportations and arrests of illegal immigrants (Kourtovic, 2001). The state was unable to legalize the immigrants and hundreds of thousands of them continued to live under illegal conditions. This way they became more stigmatised and negative stereotyping increased. On average, 230.000 people were deported each year from 1991 to 2001 (Fakiolas 2003). In 2011 the number of illegal migrants in Greece was 390.000 (Maroukis, 2009, 2012); the term *irregular migrant* is used for someone “with no regular/legal status in the country they are residing in and whose presence in the territory - if detected - may be subjected to termination through an order to leave and/or an expulsion order because of their status” (Maroukis, 2009:10).

The socialist government that followed in 1993 signed an agreement with Albania that regulated seasonal work in Greece after invitation with law 2482/1997 (Government Gazette,

1997). A legalization program followed and the first white and then green cards were issued for those who met the requirements. New legalization programs followed in 2001 and 2004 regularizing 750.000 immigrants. With law 2910/2001 (Government Gazette, 2001) the legalization framework was revised shifting responsibility from police authorities to the ministries of Labour and Interior and to local authorities. Immigration was managed with emphasis on border control and guest-worker invitation schemes that separated work from residence permits. The law included measures which aimed at the integration of immigrants, family reunification and transferability of pension rights. Still, negative features persisted such as short term residence permits, whereas arrests and deportations did not cease. In 2001 nearly 220,000 people were arrested for illegal entry or residence in Greece, 79% of whom were Albanians (Fakiolas, 2003). Baldwin-Edwards (2004) reports that in 2002 alone 600 million Euros were spent on border safety by the Greek state.

In 2005, law 3386/05 (Government Gazette, 2005) set a new framework for the entrance, residence and social integration of immigrants with the establishment of the conditions for their legalization. Another law, 3304/05 in that same year (Government Gazette, 2005) secured any group of the population against any kind of discrimination by applying the principles of equal treatment regardless of racial, ethnic origin or religious beliefs, disability, age or sexual orientation. The next law on immigration 3838/2010 (Government Gazette, 2010), defined the current provisions for Greek citizenship and political participation of expatriates and lawfully residing immigrants. More specifically, the children of legal immigrants who were born in Greece or have lived in Greece for at least five years or those who have attended at least six classes of the Greek school are eligible for the acquisition of the Greek citizenship. Law 3838/2010 (Government Gazette, 2010) was amended with law 4251/2014 (Government Gazette, 2014) that regulated the granting of residence permits to second generation immigrants, an issue that had not been covered by any legal framework. Second generation immigrants, a group that includes the participants in the present study, are defined as people born in the host country to immigrant parents (King, 2012). As King points out, the paradox in this situation is that, considering the *ius-sanguinis* blood rule, these people “can remain classified as non-citizens” (King, 2012:6) and may be counted among immigrants even though they have not emigrated.

According to the latest law 4332/2015 (Government Gazette, 2015), the acquisition of citizenship for children of immigrants who were born in Greece takes place during the enrollment in the first grade of primary school, provided that at least one parent has completed five years of continuous, legal residence in the country and has acquired at the time of application for citizenship a long-term or an indefinite residence permit. In addition,

third-country national children legally residing in Greece are able to acquire citizenship after having followed nine years of education or the entire duration of secondary education in a Greek school or after graduating from a Greek secondary school and holding a higher education degree from a Greek university or technical college.

### **3.4. Education and immigrant students in Greece**

The growing number of immigrants and the changes in the composition of the population in Greece has changed the orientation of the educational system towards an intercultural approach. Like many other European countries, globalization has created rapidly changing needs of the student population which call for changes and innovations in the pedagogical system in order to respond to the new realities and achieve the inclusion and the socialization of immigrant students (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011). Young migrants are characterized in Greece as *foreign and repatriated pupils*: the term *repatriated* is used in laws and ministry directives for the children who were born in a foreign country by Greek parents and returned to Greece, or were born in Greece, resided for some time abroad and then they came back. The children whose parents are not of a Greek origin are referred to in laws and ministry directives as *foreign* (ELSTAT, 2010).

There is not sufficient qualitative and quantitative data regarding the immigrant student population in Greece and their academic performance. The data available appear to suggest that the largest immigrant student group in the primary education is the Albanian one (Tsokalidou and Maligoudi, 2011) with a percentage of approximately 80% of the total number of immigrant students in the primary level. A persisting problem, even after the regularization programs, is the issue of lack of legal documents of residence for a lot of these children and their families. According to the information available from relevant research (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011), data from the Institute for the Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural Studies show that during the academic year 2007-08 the highest concentration of immigrant students was recorded in the Athens metropolitan area. In addition, the percentage of successful completion of education for this group has been rather low (below 85%) compared with other European countries, whereas “the difference between the graduation rates of Greeks and immigrants was found to be higher than 20% in the lower secondary level and higher than 40% in the higher secondary level” (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011:5). Furthermore, data from the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT, 2010) reveal that 74.415 out of a total of 744.146 students in the state primary sector of education are foreign and 59.012 of them have an Albanian citizenship. In addition, 54.542 have Albanian as a first language but only 3.832 foreign children attend a course that it is

designed according to their needs. According to data from the European Commission, while the percentage of foreign students was 7,3% in 2006-07, it increased to 12% in 2010-11 (European Commission, 2013). In this comparative study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children in the EU member states, the European Commission finds that in Greece, like Spain and Italy, more than 40% of young migrants are early school leavers due to reasons such as learning difficulties, social problems and lack of motivation or support. According to this study, during the academic year 2010-2011, 13% of the student population in intercultural schools dropped out, whereas migrant students often prefer to enrol in a regular school instead of an intercultural one. The most current official statistical data on immigrant student population in Greece are presented in Appendix 4.

The education of immigrant pupils in Greece can be distinguished in two stages as far as it concerns the educational policies that have been implemented (Kiprianos, 2002): the ethnocentric/assimilative approach, which lasted from the early 1980s to 1996, and the intercultural/cross-cultural approach that has been implemented after 1996, when the number of immigrant students started to increase and the state allowed immigrant children to register in schools, even those who could not provide the necessary legal documents for enrollment. With the law 1404/1983 (Government Gazette, 1983), reception and support classes were introduced in the Greek educational system as compensatory measures that resulted in the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the immigrant students. In these classes the Greek language was intensively taught disregarding the migrant pupils' linguistic and cultural background until the early 1990s (Damanakis, 1997). The instruction of the migrant students' L1 was decided with a ministerial decision in 1994, but this policy was never implemented (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015). As Damanakis (2005) points out, the implemented policy was an approach based on a deficit hypothesis ignoring the students' diversity; "the projected aim of reception classes and tutorial courses for repatriated and foreign pupils is the adjustment and mainstreaming into the Greek educational system. The educational capital that pupils bring with them from their families and their countries of origin is ignored" (Damanakis, 2005:80).

The policy of the intercultural approach was initially developed to respond to the educational and linguistic needs of the repatriates' children as well as to the Greek Muslim minority of Thrace and to Roma children. It implied a reduction in educational demands supplemented with compensatory measures, such as reception classes and tutorial courses, so that the children were able to adapt to the country's educational system. The Intercultural Education Schools (also referred as cross-cultural) were legislated with law 2413/96 (Government Gazette, 1996), with the policy of intercultural education changing from a deficit hypothesis'

to a 'difference hypothesis', also addressing both repatriated and immigrant pupils. With the new law "the aim of intercultural education is to organise and run primary and secondary schools to provide education to young people who are educationally, socially, culturally or instructionally distinct. The main feature of this projected aim is that it legitimises the foundation of *Intercultural Education Schools*, schools that aim at the integration of immigrant and repatriated students, by invoking 'cultural distinctiveness" (Damanakis, 2005:81). Under the 1996 law (Government Gazette, 1996), all migrant children are entitled to compulsory schooling with the same rights as Greek students. After 2003, the provision of sufficient documentation by the parents became an obligatory condition for the enrolment in Greek schools (European Commission, 2013).

The Greek educational system has been strongly criticized as having an ethnocentric and monolingual orientation that ignores the immigrant students' diversity as the main educational provisions for them include the instruction of Greek as a second language in reception/support classes (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015). On a voluntary basis, the teaching of Greek as a second language has become part of in-service teacher training. Although linguistic support is provided at school level with reception classes, the young migrants' language of origin is still not taught (European Commission, 2013).

### **3.5. Structures and methods of Intercultural Education**

The intercultural approach to education shares a lot of principles with multicultural education (Banks, 2001). The Council of Europe has summarized the main features of intercultural education that focus on the students' experience from the country of origin as well as from the host country (Papas, 1998). Intercultural education addresses all students, mainstream and culturally diverse. It aims at "improving relations between any given society's different population groups; raising the educational attainment of racial and ethnic minorities and migrants; providing language support where necessary; and providing the younger generation with the necessary foundations for intercultural competence in culturally diverse societies" (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011: 401).

The following principles are basic to the theory of intercultural education (Pantazis, 1999): first, the intercultural approach promotes the equality of cultures, referring to the culture of the country of origin, the culture of the host country and a new conception of culture, the culture of the immigrant person. Secondly, it endorses the equalization of the educational background of the different cultural groups, which implies that the immigrants' cultural background is as important as that of the mainstream population. Finally, the intercultural



approach encourages the principle of granting equal opportunities for the individual's personal development.

More specifically, the Greek educational policy for the education of immigrant and repatriated students is comprised by the intercultural schools, the reception and support classes and the method of remedial teaching. According to Gropas and Triantafyllidou (2011), starting in 1996, twenty-six intercultural schools have been founded in Greece, 0,17% of the total number of state schools. Thirteen of these are primary schools; nine are junior high schools and four senior high schools. In order to characterize a school as intercultural there must be an adequate number of repatriated and immigrant students that comprises a percentage of 45% of the total student population. Nevertheless, not all schools with such a percentage of immigrant students are identified as intercultural. Intercultural schools follow the same curriculum as mainstream ones, but adjust it to the needs of the students. They are in theory autonomous, but in practice their autonomy extends to the lack of obligation to cover the entire curriculum as mainstream ones are expected to. Their methods focus on Greek language learning with the use of special educational materials and aim at the integration of immigrant and repatriated students. In addition, they can provide courses on the immigrant students' language and culture for up to four hours per week (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011).

The program of reception and support classes also aims at the integration of immigrant students, running in parallel with the mainstream schedule. Reception classes are offered for a period of up to two years and at the end of this period the students are integrated into the mainstream classes. The teachers of reception and support classes can be Greek or foreign. More specifically there are two stages in this programme: reception class 1 and reception class 2. In reception class 1, subjects of the school curriculum are taught in a way that is supposed to respond to the students' needs as well as Greek as a second language. Students can also attend some of the mainstream classes. Reception classes 2 are mostly language support classes that run in parallel with the mainstream classes. Support classes are attended by immigrant children who have not received any education at all or those who need help with the Greek language. A number of three to eight students is required in order to form a support class. These classes run after school hours for eight hours per week and the lessons taught are Greek language, Greek history and any other lesson the school board decides. Over the past few years, reception classes have become support classes that also address low-achieving students (Lytra, 2007)

Remedial teaching is a kind of measures implemented in order to provide academic support to students with learning difficulties so that they can attend the mainstream classes. Remedial teaching is defined as “an autonomous teaching programme for pupils of primary and lower secondary school who are experiencing learning difficulties in certain subjects or who wish to improve their performance in specific subjects in lower secondary school” (European Commission, 2013:100). It aims at the reintegration of students in the learning process, the ease of their participation in the educational system and the improvement of their performance.

Latest data from the Institute for the Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural studies (IPODE, 2007) show that during the school year 2006-07 there were 286 reception classes and 146 support classes. The Institute for the Greek Diaspora Education and Intercultural studies was integrated to other bodies of the Ministry as a result of the economic crisis, making the collection of credible data more difficult.

According to the 1999 law (Government Gazette, 1999), schools are assigned the initiative to organise classes for learning the language of the migrants’ country of origin “though it does not define the budget line that they would utilise to pay for such classes. To the best of our knowledge, no such initiative has been taken by regional offices thus far” (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011: 406). On an optional basis, the instruction of the immigrant pupils’ heritage language is provided for up to four hours per week, as long as there is an adequate number of seven to fifteen students to participate. Again, this is a measure that is not in fact implemented in state schools. An explanation for this is the lack of interest by the parents of the immigrant students in their effort to avoid problems caused by interference of Albanian in the acquisition of Greek; an attitude that reveals misconceptions and ignorance regarding issues of bilingualism and language development (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015). This attitude is supplemented by teachers’ ideologies that regard the issue of heritage language maintenance a responsibility of immigrant groups only. As Gkaintartzi et al. (2015) note, such attitudes and ideologies are reflected in the teaching methods and inevitably play a significant role in the exclusion of heritage languages and the legitimacy of monolingualism. Stereotypes and prejudice have affected teaching in Greek schools (UNICEF, 2001; ECRI, 2009). In addition, socioeconomic conditions as well as problems deriving from the diverse cultural/ethnic backgrounds of the immigrant students often result in drop-outs mainly in secondary education (Rouseas and Vretakou, 2006). A recent survey carried out by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (Bozaninou, 2013) shows that despite the economic and social relations between the two countries the stereotypes and negative views persist. However, Albanians who have immigrated to Greece from the 90s have in their

majority created a new life for themselves and their children. The second generation of Albanian immigrants seems to adapt well in the host country and embrace the Greek culture and way of life. Many of the families who had to return to Albania as a result of the lingering crisis in the Greek economy have faced serious problems in settling in to the new environment. Their children suffered not only from the separation from friends and the country they had grown up, but also because they could not speak or understand Albanian. Therefore, they had major difficulties adjusting to schools in Albania while people in Albania thought of them more as Greeks (Theodorakis, 2013).

Damanakis (2005) characterizes the policy of intercultural education after the enactment of law 2413/96 (Government Gazette, 1996) as “a milestone that may open up new prospects for education common to ‘indigenous’ and ‘foreign’ pupils in Greece” (Damanakis, 2005:81). Nevertheless, the author states how this approach results in a contradictory situation. Despite the legislation and financing of programmes by the ministry, “educational practice continues to resist. The agents of resistance in educational practice are parents, teachers and educational administrators. The obviously given for the majority of the Greek citizens remains to be national homogeneity” (Damanakis, 2005:81). Mitakidou et al. (2009) describe the intercultural policy as an ambitious one that cannot, however, avoid the assimilationist methods that ignore the migrant children’s origin, their identity and culture. Instead, it regards diversity as a deficit that requires specific measures in order to be dealt with. “Cross-cultural education moves like a satellite in the margins of mainstream education, the content, the organization and teaching approaches of which remain untouched by the cross-cultural idea” (Mitakidou et al., 2009:69).

Gropas and Triantafyllidou note how restricted the scope of the ‘intercultural’ dimension is in the educational system, pointing out that “the logic of intercultural education in Greece has been that of separation rather than of catering to the special needs of the students as the law purports. It makes intercultural education formally relevant only for the 26 schools that are identified as such and not for the remaining 99.8 % of the schooling units” (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011:11). Therefore, it is a policy that cannot transform the majority population’s perceptions of diversity and multiculturalism. The authors conclude that intercultural education policies tend to be assimilatory in practice and reflect “the dominant understandings of national identity of a given country than the more general principles of respect for, and recognition of, cultural diversity” (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011:17). They identify the need for a change in the educational policy with the involvement of intercultural dialogue, respect for diversity and targeted measures regarding the continuous training of teachers.

The comparative study regarding the policies adapted by the member states that was carried out by the European Commission (European Commission, 2013) concludes that Greece, like Italy and Cyprus, belong to the non-systematic support model. This model is characterised by randomness of the support provided and the three countries do not have an articulated policy -at least, not an effectively implemented one- for the support of the young migrants' integration; "the support provided at regional, local and/or school level is highly fragmented as teachers, parents and local communities are largely left to their own devices" (European Commission, 2013:8). The highest rates of early school leaving and the largest gaps between native students and migrant children regarding drop-out rates are attributed to this model, according to the comparative study. Greece presents the highest drop-out rate of students born abroad. The study concludes that the lack of additional support in the mainstream schools leads to the migrant students' failure and results in drop outs. Although the study finds that Greece does provide linguistic and academic support, "on the policy level there are many instruments designed to provide consistent support to migrants. However, it is provided in specialised schools called cross-cultural schools, whereas other regular schools do not provide an extensive targeted support" (European Commission, 2013:61). In addition, the report points out that teachers are generally not trained to teach Greek as a second language, while funding for ongoing heritage language support and instruction is minimal. Intercultural schools are characterized in the study as lower quality schools that are not well-equipped in terms of training staff and support mechanisms. The assessment by the European Commission study finds that the national curriculum framework promotes intercultural education; its ineffectiveness, however, derives from its "lack of correspondence between declared national policies and their implementation at school level" (European Commission, 2013:68). It also finds that there is lack of trained teachers, no school policy on parental involvement and no comprehensive school policy on diversity. The crisis of the Greek economy has also been considered by the EU study. It appears to have considerably affected the life of immigrants, increasing unemployment and discrimination and has generally influenced "the nature and extend of migrant flows" (European Commission, 2013:78). Education has also been affected as regards the number of teaching staff and, therefore, the size of the classes, with negative results in the teaching process.

In their critic of the structures of intercultural education in Greece, Gropas and Triantafyllidou (2011) remark that the 26 intercultural schools do not meet the current needs of immigrant pupils as immigrants are dispersed in both urban and rural areas, so only a small minority is enrolled in these schools. The majority attends mainstream schools "creating a defacto multicultural school population in Greek public schools" (Gropas and Triantafyllidou,

2011:407). Mitakidou et al. also mention the gap between law and practice and the “vague and evasive wording of the Greek legislation, which allows for arbitrary interpretations and poor applications” (Mitakidou et al., 2009:64). According to the authors, it is a fragmented policy, with scattered, controversial and conflicting measures that reflect the policies of the governments. They characterize the education offered in the intercultural schools as charity, implying an unreal assessment of the migrant students’ performance who are promoted to the next level even though they may have not acquired the knowledge that corresponds to their age and the level of their Greek peers. This makes the pursuit of further studies in higher education even harder. “By lowering expectations and allowing children to come and go to and from school without demanding that they learn what they should, that they succeed, they are in fact granted permission to fail” (Mitakidou et al., 2009:65). As far as it concerns the reception and support classes, the authors find that they are not much different from the methods of unassisted submersion. They point out that there is confusion among teachers regarding the level and quality of language proficiency that is necessary for the migrant children’s transition into the mainstream classes. In many cases just the development of basic conversational skills is considered an adequate level of ability in order to continue in mainstream classes.

Teachers’ attitudes and ideologies also contribute to the inadequacy of the policies provided by the Ministry of Education and result to the migrant pupils’ bilingualism remaining in fact “invisible” inside the Greek school (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015). Research findings on Greek teachers’ attitudes towards immigrant pupils’ bilingualism prove that 48.2% of teachers consider heritage languages an obstacle to the learning of Greek. Furthermore, 52.5% believe that the learning of heritage languages should concern the immigrant communities themselves and not the school. In addition, 79.2 % think that heritage language classes should not be part of the regular school schedule but should take place in the after school hours. These findings are “in accordance with the legitimisation of the Greek language as the only school language within the Greek school timetable” (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015:70).

On the positive side, university departments take the initiative to organize actions such as accelerated courses of Greek as a second language, the production of cross-cultural teaching material and training courses for students of pedagogy and teachers (Lytra, 2007). Nevertheless, it must be noted that intercultural education is a principle that is based on the vision of equality of cultures; however, its implementation is carried out by educational carriers depending on the state policy (Milesi and Pashaliori, 2008). It is true that the introduction of superficial, folklore elements in the curriculum is not enough to support the

integration of migrant children to the host country or improve the communication between different cultural groups beyond the level of mere coexistence (Mitakidou et al., 2009).

### **3.6. Conclusions**

Chapter 3 provides information that may supply the researcher with an understanding of the research participants' and their families' needs and explains the reactions and attitudes of the mainstream population to the presence of large numbers of Albanian immigrants in Greece throughout the years. It may also explain the conditions that formed the basis for the policies adopted by the Greek state regarding the assimilation of Albanian immigrants. Apart from the general conclusions that concern this group, the information collected in this chapter provides important elements for this study as it exposes the social, and educational context of the research and will assist the researcher in the formation of a framework for the analysis of data and the various parameters that need to be taken into consideration.

On the basis of the evidence currently available it seems fair to suggest that, due to the conditions of the Albanian migration to Greece, problems were caused not only as far as it concerns the reception of immigrants by the host society, but also in the recording of the number of immigrants by the state and the regularisation processes. The data appear to suggest that political, historical and social reasons have affected the Albanian migration to Greece as well as the reception of Albanian immigrants by the host society and, consequently, the policies that have been adopted for these immigrant children. Through time, these policies have changed from explicit assimilation to intercultural education. Still, little has changed regarding the outcomes of these policies as the Greek educational system retains its monolingual and ethnocentric character. Despite the efforts and changes in the legislation, it is clear that the structures of the education of immigrant students remain fragmented and inadequate. Reflecting the national policies of the governments, the possibilities of teaching Albanian are minimal, at least at the state level. The cultural and linguistic background of the immigrant students is ignored, with all the repercussions that this can bring to the academic performance and the development of their personality. The only help given to young foreigners who arrive in Greece and do not speak the language of the mainstream society is support classes taught by unspecialized teachers. The research subjects are no exception. In the region of Corinthia where the research participants reside, there has been no provision for reception classes or intercultural schools in the primary sector at the time this research is carried out. The problems and needs of these students should be addressed based on knowledge obtained by recent literature on the issues of child bilingualism and second language acquisition. These topics will be investigated in the following chapter.

## Chapter 4

### The bilingual child and Second Language Acquisition.

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter I will present an overview of the theories and research findings on bilingualism focusing on child bilingual development and aiming at better comprehension of the process of second language acquisition that applies to the subjects of my research: Albanian immigrant primary school students in Greece aged from 8 to 11. Theories on bilingualism provided the fundamental principles for the analysis of data based on the bilingual children's spoken interaction and on their linguistic biographies. Furthermore, they shed light on the research questions that concern the outcome of contact between the two languages involved –Greek and Albanian– and the factors that pertain to it.

The study of literature on the topic of bilingualism reveals the elusiveness that characterizes this concept and the controversy among researchers in their attempts to define the term bilingual. To start with, the widely-inclusive definition of bilingualism as “the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation” (Myers-Scotton, 2006:44) is not much different to how Butler and Hakuta have defined it “as psychological and social states of individuals or groups of people that result from interactions via language in which two or more linguistic codes (including dialects) are used for communication” (Butler and Hakuta, 2004:115). These recent definitions vary from older ones as they no longer include the element of perfection; they have abandoned the requirement for native-like competence and they take into account the non-linguistic aspects of the term. For instance, in Bloomfield's early definition bilingualism is considered as “the native-like control of two languages” (Bloomfield, 1933:56), a definition that refers to perfect –or balanced– bilinguals, a characterization which is an idealized one as well as problematic (Baker, 2006). Moreover, linguists agree that a bilingual person is not the sum of two monolinguals in one; preference and patterns of dominance according to context may vary among bilinguals who are able not only to sustain monolingual conversations, but also to contrast languages in them (Matras, 2009).

Since the early definition of the bilingual person (Bloomfield, 1933), there has been difficulty in identifying the term as the definitions provided by researchers so far may focus on different aspects that should be taken into consideration while investigating the issue of *bilinguality*. For instance, bilinguals may not be equally proficient in both languages. Proficiency depends on various factors, ranging from the conditions under which the individual acquired the language to how or when and where he uses it. Thus, one might argue that the term *bilingual*

applies to a person who speaks two languages no matter his level of proficiency in them, while others might support the view that the characterization is a matter of competence, in other words, *degree*. Also, the issue of use, otherwise the *function*, the individual makes of the two languages should not be neglected (Baker, 2006; Butler and Hakuta, 2004).

The various aspects of bilingualism are summarized in the Bilingualism Glossary, Appendix 5. In this sub-chapter I will refer only to those aspects that apply to the participants of my research. The basic distinction among the various aspects of bilingualism, and the one that mainly concerns the present study, is that between individual and societal bilingualism (Baker, 2006). Individual bilingualism, also called “bilinguality” (Hamers and Blanc, 2004), refers to bilingualism as an individual characteristic in situations when the individual has access to two language codes in order to communicate, whereas societal refers to bilingualism as a characteristic of a group of people or a community where two languages are used.

Bilinguals are classified as *early* (when the two languages were acquired early in childhood, usually before the age of 6) or *late* (those who became bilinguals at an older age or after the age of 12) and depending on the sequence of acquisition a person can be a *simultaneous* bilingual (when the two languages are learned as first languages) or *sequential/successive* (when one language was learned before the other) (Baker, 2006; Wei, 2000; Edwards, 2004; Matras, 2009; Genesee et al., 1978; Butler and Hakuta, 2004; Myers-Scotton, 2006).

Classification based on ability (Edwards, 2004; Wei, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Mackey, 2004; Baker, 2006) has set the terms *receptive* (when the individual is able to understand a second language without being able to speak or write it), *additive* (when the 2<sup>nd</sup> language does not interfere with the 1<sup>st</sup> and both languages are developed), *subtractive* (when learning the 2<sup>nd</sup> language interferes with the first resulting in replacing the 1<sup>st</sup> with the 2<sup>nd</sup>) (Garcia, 2009; Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Wei, 2000). Depending on the level of proficiency in the two languages, one may be a *dominant* bilingual (more proficient in one of the two languages), or *balanced* (equally proficient in both languages) (Romaine 1995; Edwards, 2004; Wei, 2000; Grosjean, 2004; Butler and Hakuta, 2004). Garcia adds to the discussion about balanced bilingualism that “the belief in balanced bilingualism holds that a bilingual is like two persons, each fluent in one of the two languages. But more realistically, a bilingual is a person that “languages” differently and that has diverse and unequal experiences with each of the two languages” (Garcia, 2009:1544-1546). Baker (2006) also states that the term *balanced bilingual* is often used as an idealized concept while also a problematic one; balance between the two languages can exist at low levels of competence. For instance,



Matras (2009) notes how the term *bilingual* is associated with the ability to use language proficiently at a level similar to monolingual speakers. Yet, the idea of such balance in bilingualism implies appropriate competence in both languages, thus raising the issue of assessment. However, assessing an individual's proficiency in the two languages is a very complex task. As Grosjean (1999) notes, it is not rare for a bilingual person to be able to only read and write in one language, to lack speaking fluency in the language he uses with a limited number of interlocutors, or to be able to speak about a particular topic only in one language. Besides, as Garcia adds "the languages of an individual are rarely socially equal, having different power and prestige, and they are used for different purposes, in different contexts, with different interlocutors" (Garcia, 2009:1548-1549). Garcia also notes that bilingual ability may be limited to oracy (the ability to speak and listen) and not extend to literacy (the ability to read and write).

For the purposes of this study I will adopt Myers-Scotton's (2006) definition of the bilingual individual because the research participants fit in many different classifications of bilingualism as described above, since their age and sequence of acquisition, ability level and the use they make of the two languages vary for each of them; therefore, Myers-Scotton's all-inclusive definition - the only limit it sets is the ability for basic communication - seems fitting.

#### **4. 1. How to become bilingual**

##### **4.1.1. The process of language contact, change and choice**

Thomason (2010) argues that the presence versus the absence of imperfect learning, the intensity of contact and the speakers' attitudes are the main social factors that are relevant to predicting the effects of contact-induced change. The issue of language attitudes deserves our attention in the discussion of maintenance or shift of immigrant groups' languages, one of the basic concerns of this study. Parental beliefs are significant in determining whether young children will actively speak two languages (De Houwer, 2009a). Such beliefs contribute to the formation of the patterns of communication within the family as I will explain further in Chapter 6. There are of course individual differences in the continuum of fluency between the two languages in children that can be explained on the basis of the children's linguistic soundscapes (the spoken language the child has to deal with in total), the patterns of verbal interaction and input frequency (De Houwer, 2009b). Eventually, language choice is the outcome of more factors than language attitudes; as De Houwer argues, in the cases when bilingual children have a stronger and weaker language, the stronger one will be the

language of the society in which they are growing up, peer pressure playing its role as well as the higher frequency of input in the societal language.

When asymmetrical bilingualism occurs under the pressure of a dominant group towards subordinate ones, language contact may result in language shift (Romaine, 2010). Language shift can be defined as “the change from the use of one language to the use of another language across generations” (Hamers and Blanc, 2004:22). Romaine (2010) argues that it has been predicted by linguists that between 50% and 90% of the world’s approximately 6,900 languages will disappear over the next century. But the languages more threatened with loss are those of “socially and politically marginalized and/or subordinated national and ethnic minority groups within nation-states where the politics of nation-building gave precedence to dominant ethnic groups” (Romaine, 2010:321). The author discusses the case of immigrants in countries like the USA -where bilingualism is often a transitional stage towards language shift- and the transformation of bilingual communities into monolingual ones. For instance, in Spanish-speaking communities where there is cross-generational shift towards English monolingualism, bilingual programs are basically transitional stages aiming not at maintenance of the child’s L1, but at how L1 can support the learning of English (Anderson 2001, 2012; Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Lutz, 2006). However, for these Spanish-speaking children, the degree of loss is affected by demographic, social and individual variables (Anderson, 2012). Wong-Fillmore (1991) concludes that the younger these children are immersed in English, the more dramatic the L1 loss. Nevertheless, when there is support of L1 through educational programs, the church or the media, loss is lessened (Anderson, 2012). The loss of L1 has detrimental effects on the child’s cognitive development, the successful acquisition of L2, his academic performance, his social and identity development and his self esteem (Paradis et al., 2011; Garcia, 2009; Cummins 2000; Riches and Genesee, 2006; Bialystok 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Appel and Muysken, 2005). The situation of Albanian immigrant students in Greece is not much different, as I will explain in Chapter 6. My data revealed signs of language shift into Greek as there is no support of Albanian and language transmission by the parents is inadequate.

Romaine (2010) argues that differences in generations within the same community may occur, with the older generation retaining L1 and the younger ones becoming monolingual in L2 even when parents maintain their L1. Differences also occur among children in the same family with the older ones often being more proficient in the parents’ language –although still not necessarily achieving high levels of proficiency- than the younger ones. Exposure to L2 outside the home domain, and mainly when schooling starts, is intense in comparison to the minimal exposure to the parents’ language at home. Romaine notes that third, even second

generation immigrant children are dominant in L2: “The immigrant language, if they can speak it at all, reveals signs of incomplete acquisition, attrition, and influence from English. There may be a continuum of types of acquisition, attrition, and proficiency occurring even within the same family” (Romaine, 2010:325).

As mentioned above, children are exposed to the societal language through the media, television and radio, songs, books and so on, thus developing young children's linguistic soundscapes (De Houwer, 2009b). However, the developments in the technology of communication and the new media have affected the life of immigrants. As Blommaert and Rampton argue “while emigration used to mean real separation between the emigré and his/her home society, involving the loss or dramatic reduction of social, cultural and political roles and impact there, emigrants and dispersed communities now have the potential to retain an active connection by means of an elaborate set of long-distance communication technologies” (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011:3).

Grosjean and Li (2013) note the importance of other factors that affect language choice, such as the situation and context of discourse, the function of the interaction and the history between the participants. The authors also stress the importance of the speaker's attitudes towards a language or a group. Thus, members of stigmatized minorities may avoid using minority groups' languages with others. Added to the above factors, age, socioeconomic status, the degree of intimacy between the participants and power relations may also account for language choice. However, the setting where the interaction takes place, the formality of the situation, the presence of monolinguals, and the topic and function of interaction also bear their own significance. Grosjean and Li (2013) argue that the ability to find the most appropriate language for each situation, otherwise termed as “language accommodation” is not easy to achieve.

#### **4.1.2. Bilingual Child Language Acquisition and Second Language Acquisition.**

*Bilingual First Language Acquisition* (BFLA) is a term used by Meisel (1994) and De Houwer (1990) based on studies of bilingual children who were exposed to two languages from birth, also referred to as “*bilingualism as a first language*” or “*two first languages*” (Romaine, 1995). *Bilingual First Language Acquisition* implies spontaneous acquisition of language through exposure without effort or instruction (Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006; Matras, 2009). On the other hand, acquisition of language at a later stage or through formal instruction is considered as *Second Language Acquisition* or *late acquisition*, whereas *Early Second Language Acquisition* applies to children who were exposed to a second language at pre-

school age. At this point it should be noted that, as far as it concerns this research, the participants can be located on different scales and continua of second language acquisition process. However, they were categorized into two different groups for the purpose of my study: the early and the late bilinguals, based on the age of arrival in Greece or the age when they learned Greek.

Research on simultaneous dual language acquisition indicates that learning two or more languages is as natural as learning one and simultaneous bilinguals can acquire two or more languages at the same rate and in the same way as monolingual children (Genesee, 2009). It is important to note that the degree of bilingualism and the ease of acquisition differ between children and those who acquire an L2 at a later age (Myers-Scotton, 2006). As Ellis notes, "L2 learners bring an enormous amount of knowledge to the task of learning an L2" (Ellis, 1997: 5). According to the author, this may be knowledge about how language works - based on their use of L1 - general knowledge about the world and knowledge of communication strategies through which they can use L2. While children are usually successful in acquiring the languages they are exposed to, success in second language learning varies significantly among individual bilinguals (Lightbown and Spada, 2006). Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA) learners have the advantage of acquiring the "additional skills that are required to manage and use two languages for communicative purposes (when to use each language and when to code mix and how much)" (Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006:336). In the early years of acquisition, the factors of age and context as well as the amount of language use affect the individual's knowledge and processing of the language, as well as the way he stores it in the brain: "When with passing time languages are restructured, or even fade away, psycholinguistics and cognitive operations will also be influenced by this" (Grosjean and Li, 2013:11).

As Genesee (2009) notes, differences in phonological development between bilingual and monolingual children are unlikely to induce perceptible consequences on the bilinguals' phonological skills in the long run. This is because as it is generally agreed, the earlier the acquisition of two languages begins, the more likely learners will acquire proficient phonological skills. However, as Romaine points out, age is not the only factor for successful language acquisition: "While there is some evidence to indicate that longer exposure to a language makes for better proficiency, and that younger children can achieve higher levels of accuracy in pronunciation than older ones, the outcome depends very much on the circumstances in which acquisition takes place" (Romaine, 1995:182). Opportunities for learning, motivation and the learner's aptitude, may also affect successful learning (Lightbown and Spada, 2006). Garcia (2009) also notes that pedagogical factors affect the

development of bilingualism at school more than biological predispositions relative to language acquisition. While progress may develop faster as far as it concerns older children, early bilinguals' success at learning L2 is the outcome of available practice time and of participation in informal settings where practice of authentic speech -fulfilling simple communicative needs- is favoured.

#### **4.1.3. Types of bilingual acquisition**

Krashen (1981) explains acquisition as the process of picking up a new language while communicating in contexts such as the community or the family and without studying it in other formal settings, for instance, at school. This is what differentiates *acquisition* of a new language from *learning* it. Therefore, the role of exposure to the new language is vital, especially when it comes to children. Acquisition is complete by the ages of three to four in an effortless process without overt instruction (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Lightbown and Spada note that "when the objective of second language learning is native-like mastery of the target language, it may indeed be desirable for the learner to be completely surrounded by the language as early as possible. However, early intensive exposure to the second language may entail the loss or incomplete development of the child's first language" (Lightbown and Spada, 2009:74).

While the same socialization processes determine the use of the two languages by bilingual children and language use by monolingual children (Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006: 22), Lanza (2007) argues that the child's family is of crucial importance when it comes to acquisition; the analysis of language patterns within the family may explain the individual differences among bilinguals. Moreover, knowledge of the bilingual children's linguistic history as well as input and exposure patterns can help identify the cases of simultaneous, early or late L2 acquisition; "parental discourse strategies may, therefore, be one way in which children learn to make appropriate language choices, at least with familiar interlocutors, and as well offers an explanation of some of the variation that characterizes children in different families" (Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006: 19).

De Houwer (2009b) also stresses the importance of the study of the actual language models that bilingual children are exposed to for research. These models can offer useful insights for the explanation of particular features of children's language production. Yet, she remarks that "findings suggest that language presentation in terms of whether a parent addresses a child in one or two languages is not the most decisive factor in whether children will grow up actually speaking two languages" (De Houwer, 2009b:4733).

Romaine (1995) has identified the following patterns of early childhood bilingualism for children who are exposed to two languages from birth:

Type 1: The *one-person-one-language* pattern takes place in families where parents have a different L1 and each parent speaks their own language to the child from birth. Moreover, one of the parents' languages is the dominant language of the community. Romaine argues that the common outcome of this method is a child who speaks only the language of the community, although he understands the languages of both parents.

Type 2: The *non-dominant home language* or *one language- one environment* pattern takes place when parents have a different L1 and one of these languages is the dominant of the community. However, they both use the non-dominant language with the child. Therefore, the child is exposed to the dominant language outside the home environment.

Type 3: The *non-dominant home language without community support* pattern takes place when parents have the same L1 -which is not the dominant language of the community- and speak it to the child.

Type 4: The *double non-dominant home language without community support* pattern takes place when parents have a different L1 -none of which is the dominant language of the community- and each parent speaks their own language to the child from birth. The outcome of this method is a trilingual child, according to Romaine.

Type 5: The *non-native parents* pattern takes place when parents have the same L1 -which is also the dominant language of the community- and one of the parents addresses the child in another language.

Type 6. The *mixed languages* pattern takes place when parents are bilingual and address to the child in both languages using code-switching and mixing of the two languages in their speech.

The identification of patterns of early childhood bilingualism was useful in the data analysis of my research. For the research participants patterns similar to types 3, 5 and 6 were observed. However, while this framework is based on the parents' language, the language of the community and the parents' strategy of speaking to the child and allows some generalizations, it does not take into consideration other aspects of family bilingualism such as the language the parents communicate with each other, the parents' language ideologies, peer and sibling language usage (Lanza, 2007) or the role of the prestige of the languages involved (Yamamoto, 2001) and the significance of the bilingual children's language learning environments (De Houwer, 2009b). Lanza (2007) argues that Romaine's *one-person-one-language* pattern may result in simultaneous bilingualism for the child while the other patterns, where the non- dominant language is spoken at home and dominant language outside the home, may result in sequential bilingualism. However, the *mixed languages*

pattern may overlap with other patterns as, generally, patterns in reality are not clear-cut. Even in the *one-person-one-language* pattern, parents may code-switch: transcripts of parent–child conversations may reveal that parents who claim to stick to one language only, do not do so all the time (De Houwer, 2009b). Moreover, the effectiveness of the *one-person-one-language* pattern has been questioned as far as it concerns the creation of a favourable linguistic environment for the promotion of L1. Also, this pattern does not guarantee that the child will maintain the L1 as other factors play a role, such as language prestige (Yamamoto, 2001).

De Houwer (2009b) identifies three main patterns of language presentation that parents use in speaking to BFLA children, warning that this categorization of parental language may be an idealization of what is often a much more complex reality: the 1P/1L (each parent mainly uses a single language that is different from the other parent's), the 1P/2L (both parents address children in the same two languages), and the 1P/1L & 1P/2L (one parent addresses children in only one language, while the other parent uses that same language plus another one). She concludes that the *one-person-one-language* strategy is the least common and that it is not so much a fact but an ideal. Although this model is supposed to prevent the confusion of the child's languages and therefore the production of mixed utterances, research does not provide adequate evidence for such results. In addition, it does not necessarily result in active bilingual use by children. De Houwer, however, finds that the *one-person-two-languages* setting is more possible to lead to active bilingualism (for reasons that may relate to frequency of input) and the 1P/1L & 1P/2L setting is the most successful one of all if parents share the non-societal language. De Houwer's framework was also considered in the data analysis of my research and patterns such as 1P/2L and 1P/1L & 1P/2L appeared to apply to the research participants' patterns of language use in the home.

As Lanza (2007) argues, parental language ideologies affect to a great proportion the patterns of language use in the home and the creation and maintenance of a bilingual input situation (also in De Houwer, 2009b). Moreover, ideologies may differ – overtly or covertly – between the parents, causing conflict in the family planning. Quoting Döpke (1992), Lanza notes that it is not the quantity but the quality in parent-child interaction that may render an active bilingual, using the L1. Children may develop one of the two languages better than the other, in other words one language may be the stronger one and the other the weaker, but this can change later and the stronger language can gradually become the weaker one (De Houwer, 2009b). Thus, development between the BFLA child's two languages can be uneven. De Houwer argues that one reason may be that children do not hear both languages to the same extent. The children's response in L2 to the parents, who address them in L1, in

other words carrying out *dilingual conversations*, is a common observation in research, as De Houwer remarks. These children usually speak only the majority language. Similar patterns of communication with the parents through *dilingual conversations* have been identified for the participants of my research.

As Grosjean and Li (2013) argue, languages and language skills go through transition periods during which languages are re-organized, affecting the communication level of the individual. At the point of stability, the communication level that was achieved before the change is regained; “a bilingual’s language history can be quite complex due to life events that reduce or increase the importance of a language” (Grosjean and Li, 2013:10).

## **4.2. Bilingual Practices.**

### **4.2.1. Code-switching.**

According to the hypothesis of the Dual Language System, while bilingual children acquire the two languages simultaneously, they have separate systems for each language (Meisel, 1989, 2004; De Houwer, 1990, 2005; Paradis and Genesee, 1996; Quay, 1995; Genesee, 1989; Paradis et al., 2000). Separate, inter-related but non-autonomous phonological systems are formed in bilingual children at the age of two (Paradis, 2001) as well as a range of translation equivalents (Matras, 2009; Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006). Even in the cases when the two languages are very different, children acquire distinct phonological, vocabulary and grammatical systems in both of them (Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006). Bilingual children, therefore, can differentiate between the two languages and use them appropriately with different interlocutors from the early stages of language development (Comeau et al., 2003; Meisel, 2001, 2004; Paradis, 2001).

The simultaneous use of two languages within the same utterance is very common in the bilingual child’s speech, especially in the early language development stages (Paradis et al., 2011). More specifically, “the alternate use of languages, that is, the speaker makes a complete shift to the other language and then reverts back to the base language” is labelled as *code-switching* (Grosjean and Li, 2013: 18). Genesee and Nicoladis also refer to the same phenomenon in the bilingual children’s language as code-mixing which can better be explained as “the use of elements (phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic) from two languages in the same utterance or stretch of conversation” (Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006:12).



There are three types of code-switching: *tag-switching* (a tag of another language, such as *you know* or *I mean*, is inserted into an utterance) (Romaine, 1995), *inter-sentential* (the switch takes place at the sentence/clause boundary) and *intra-sentential* (the switch takes place within word boundaries or different types of switch take place within sentence/clause boundary) (Garcia, 2009; Wardhaugh, 2006; Saville-Troike, 2003). In addition, when the languages used change according to the situations and without topic change, code-switching is characterized as *situational*, whereas when a change of topic requires a change in the language used code-switching is *metaphorical* (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Wardhaugh, 2006). The latter was considered by Gumperz as *conversational* and defined as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982: 59). For Gumperz code-switching serves a multifunctional role: switches, therefore, can function as quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalization versus objectivization. They signal “contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes” (Gumperz, 1982: 98).

In addition, code switching can be *motivated* (when the switches are deliberate) according to DeBot (2002). Code-switching can be spontaneous when the speaker communicates with others who share their languages but does not signify inadequacy or sloppy language usage or lack of knowledge but a sophisticated linguistic skill and a characteristic of the speech of fluent bilinguals (Garcia, 2009). Referring to Myers-Scotton’s “Markedness Model” Garcia notes that “choice of code is motivated according to whether a given available code is marked, that is, whether it has social meaning, or not” (Garcia, 2009:1708-1709). However, there is also the case of unintended code-switching that maybe the outcome of the use of trigger-words within the bilingual conversation; that is, words that are shared by the two languages with the effect of eliciting more features of the other language in the speaker’s utterances but with no specific function. Those trigger-words are best defined as “words at the intersection of two language systems, which, consequently, may cause speakers to lose their linguistic bearings and continue the sentence in the other language”, (Clyne, 1991: 193).

For example in:

*“Der Farmer’s GOT Schafe”*

(the farmer’s got sheep)

the lexeme *Farmer* has triggered *got* (adopted from Clyne, 2003:75)

Also, in the example from Croatian:

*“Ima ovaj, razne te, kao ovu colleges AROUND, THERE ARE A COUPLE OF CAMPUSES”*

(translated as: there is this these various like colleges around, there are a couple of campuses), the speaker continues in English after the lexeme *colleges* (adopted from Clyne, 2003:163).

Clyne (2003) also distinguishes code-switching (where the switch and the code carry a symbolic meaning and function) from alternation or variety/language switching (where the switch and code do not carry any communicative meaning). According to Lanvers (2001) mixing is functional and switches in early stages of language development are the outcome of the child's need to respond to difficulties in communication such as filling gaps, whereas at later stages switches have pragmatic functions such as emphasis, appeal, and change of topic. Furthermore, Grosjean and Li (2013) note that code-mixing is systematic in both adults' and children's speech. Taking a similar stance, Genesee and Nicoladis remark that code-mixing in adults has been considered as a "useful, sophisticated, and rule-governed feature of language use among adult bilinguals. In contrast, child bilingual code-mixing has often been interpreted as a sign of incompetence and even confusion" (Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006:330). However, the authors argue that research indicates that child code-mixing is not the outcome of lack of differentiation of the two languages as children are able to use their two languages appropriately with different people. They add that, apart from the form of mixing, other factors are also responsible for the variation in the rate of mixing in bilingual children's language such as whether the mixed elements are function or content words, the level of proficiency in the language of conversation and the context -referring to bilingual or monolingual interlocutors. Paradis (2007) argues that a large part of research has shown that by the age of three, code-switching patterns are rule-governed and resemble to patterns used by adults.

To the question why children code-mix, Genesee and Nicoladis (2006) present an overview of the available explanations in literature: the first one is based on the "two-systems-hypothesis" and states that children code-mix to *fill in gaps* in their vocabulary in one language, thus revealing incomplete mastery in their developing linguistic resources with a rising level of mixing when they use the language they are less proficient in. Second, code-mixing is affected by *context* and the variables within it including those related to interlocutor, topic and purpose of the interaction as evidence reveals (also in Paradis, 2007). "Most researchers report that bilingual children tend to use their languages appropriately with different interlocutors so that, for example, children who are raised in bilingual homes where parents tend to use only their native/dominant language with the child generally use more of each parent's language with that parent than with the other parent" (Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006: 332). Code-mixing is also sensitive to situational factors, for example there is evidence

that children are more likely to mix when playing with other children, drawing pictures of their homes and families. Third, code-mixing carries pragmatic and symbolic functions, such as emphasis, appeal, quoting a parent, topic shift and symbolic identity reasons. Comeau et al emphasize the role of input in bilingual children's code mixing as it is demonstrated in research evidence: "children in the early verbal stages of dual language acquisition can monitor rates of mixing in the input addressed to them and modify their own rates of mixing on-line and in accord with the input" (Comeau et al., 2003:125). Individual differences in the children's' code-mixing are related to the parents' discourse styles and strategies and to the rate of code-mixing in the input addressed to them.

While code-switching is one of the possible outcomes of language contact, its role in language change is still a matter of discussion (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). Associated with different configurations within the spectrum of language contact -accommodation, divergence, language maintenance or shift - code switching reflects social differences and tendencies within the same society as well as those between different societies. Gardner-Chloros argues that there are cases of "relatively stable bilingual situations where two varieties apparently alternate without affecting one another's essential character" (Gardner-Chloros, 2010:202) adding that code-switching is also indicative of rule-breaking behaviour and this should be seen in relation to terms of language change and convergence. However, Montrul argues that "code-switching maybe a sign of language loss when used indiscriminately, without regard for interlocutor and context, as a result of difficulty retrieving lexical items on-line in the L1" (Montrul, 2008:66).

In reference to an individual level, code-switching may reflect varying bilingual competences and be used as a discourse structuring device while at a social level it may be the outcome of power struggle between two varieties (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). Moreover, conscious use of code-switching may reflect a desire to fit in, the need for solidarity, the need to assert power or maintain a certain neutrality in bilingual situations and the need to express identity among other reasons (Wardhaugh, 2006) whereas for second and third-generation migrants code-switching may be a mark of in-group identity (Gardner-Chloros, 2010).

#### **4.2.2. Translanguaging: new developments in the study of multi- and bilingualism.**

Another theoretical approach to bilingualism is offered lately that initiates a discussion regarding the future of Applied Linguistics. As Garcia (2009) argues, bilinguals achieve communication with others and make sense of the world through translanguaging which is not just code-switching but all kinds of bilingual or multilingual practices. The author defines

translanguaging as “engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices, is an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable” (Garcia, 2009: 1520-1523). Garcia explains that these practices are not considered as marked or unusual, but as the way people in communities around the world communicate. Garcia’s examples of translanguaging include the mode of communication between the members of a bilingual family with different degrees of abilities, including monolingual family members during a meal; the way people in bilingual communities make sense of signs written in the two languages; the practice that children follow when they act as translators for their parents who don’t speak the majority language; the practice of deaf children when they choose between signed or written mode of communication. According to the author, bilingual families and communities construct meaning through translanguaging using the languages for different modalities; for instance, the same children may read English because it is the language of available literature but pray in Spanish because it is the language their parents use to pray too. “Because the range of the linguistic repertoire of bilinguals is more differentiated than that of monolinguals, the linguistic choices for bilinguals are also greater” (Garcia, 2009:1654-1655). Garcia questions the characterization *second-language learner* as problematic under the claim that language learning is a recursive and circular process which means that the characterization applies to anyone learning a language at a certain time. She proposes replacing it with the concept of “the bilingual whose communicative practices include translanguaging” (Garcia, 2009: 1958-1959). Second language learners, Garcia argues, should be considered as emergent bilinguals who carry their own language practices in order to succeed in learning another language; therefore, categorizations such as second-language learner vs. fluent speakers are artificial and vague; “terms such as “second-language learner” and “second language speaker,” when studied from a heteroglossic and bilingual perspective, make little sense. Instead, we should speak about “bilinguals,” giving the term a full range of possibilities, and taking away the negative connotations associated with being second, and not first” (Garcia, 2009: 1965-1967).

It is within this same context that later Garcia and Wei (2014) intended to depict the process of communication within bilingual families and communities proposing the concept of translanguaging. According to the authors, “there are always family members who have different language practices, and thus to communicate with them, speakers have to select certain features of their multilingual repertoire, while excluding others. And there are always events and topics for which certain features in the multilingual repertoire are more relevant than others” (Garcia and Wei, 2014:499-501). The authors explain that such families may use features of the dominant language when talking about subjects such as school but

different features may be used for intimate relationships. In this *translanguaging* approach to bilingualism, the language practices of bilinguals are considered not as two autonomous language systems but as “one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages” (Garcia and Wei, 2014:138-139). As far as it concerns the purposes of my research, the concept of translanguaging describes the patterns of communication among the family members of the participants, as I will explain in chapter 6.

In accordance with this direction of Applied Linguistics, Blommaert and Rampton (2011) explain how demographic and social changes caused by globalization have led societies from multiculturalism to super-diversity, demanding for a reconsidered conceptualization of the category of *migrant*. It is due to super-diversity that notions such as language, language speaker and competence have been reconsidered through revised approaches. According to the writers “although notions like ‘native speaker’, ‘mother tongue’ and ‘ethnolinguistic group’ have considerable ideological force (and as such should certainly feature as objects of analysis), they should have no place in the sociolinguistic toolkit itself” (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011:5). In this context, the writers propose that a priori classifications such as ‘first’ and ‘second language’ speakers are better be avoided. Therefore, with such questioning of the hegemony of monolingualism (May, 2014), a new perspective of applied linguistics is proposed that places multilingualism at the centre of attention, thus bearing significant consequences for the future of SLA and TESOL.

#### **4.4. Immigration and bilingualism.**

When the policy of the host country is to replace the immigrants’ L1 with L2, subtractive bilingualism occurs. According to Garcia “immigrants, and especially undocumented immigrants, are often the least successful in getting bilingual educational services that would support their bilingualism. When this is the case, immigrant children undergo language shift, robbing them of the potential to access the cognitive and social benefits that bilingualism might bring” (Garcia, 2009: 3227-3229).

Immigrant children often have inadequate knowledge of L2 -or even none at all- when they arrive in the host country. This lack of knowledge is often misinterpreted as lack of learning abilities and they may have to attend special classes while there is no L1 support and the educational system often does not take into consideration their linguistic and cultural background (Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Cummins, 2000). Language policies adopted by

schools reflect linguistic and socio-political ideologies (Lytra, 2014; Garcia, 2009) instead of “tuning into children’s digital and popular cultural literacies” (Lytra, 2014:264).

For the group of subtractive bilinguals, to which these research participants belong, L1 suffers a significant slow-down, or even shift, as they are exposed to L2 at their early stages of language development and for long periods of time even though they have not acquired L1 at a level appropriate to their age yet. In other words, L1 may be lost while these children are in this transition period of learning the new language (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Lambert, 1987; Lightbown and Spada, 2006). Such loss carries a significant impact on the children’s self-esteem, on their relationships with family members as well as on their academic performance; and it has negative consequences in the individual’s social, emotional, cognitive and educational development (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). L1 maintenance enhances communication with parents (Krashen, 2000). When the child loses his primary language his parents may not be able to convey beliefs and principles properly and parental authority may also suffer a break-down (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Furthermore, the positive impact of L1 on academic performance is the result of the cognitive advantages of L1 maintenance (Krashen, 2000) and the cognitive benefits of bilingualism (Bialystok, 1991, 2001; 2007, 2010; Paradis et al., 2011; Marian et al., 2009; Kovacs and Mehler, 2009; Prior and MacWhinney, 2010; Adesope et al., 2010; Hoshino and Thierry, 2012; Wu and Thierry, 2011; Rodriguez-Fornells et al., 2005; Carrasco-Ortiz et al., 2012), as well as of the facilitative transfer of skills already acquired in the L1 to L2 (Banks, 2001; Cummins, 2000; Garcia, 2009; Paradis et al., 2011; Riches and Genesee, 2006). Therefore, additive bilingualism is proposed as a preferable solution, as Lightbown and Spada (2006) argue; L1 can be maintained at home whereas parents and children continue to learn L2 in the domains of school, work and the community. This way, the children will be able to develop their cognitive and affective skills in L1. Butler and Hakuta (2004) refer to second and third generation immigrants as an example of bilinguals who, despite their high level in oral skills in both languages, tend to have limited literacy skills in one of them. Moreover, while immigrant children may acquire adequate fluency in the new language, such levels of fluency are not very common for their parents.

Whereas research has discovered that the age of immigration is strongly related to proficiency in the second language (De Keyser, 2000), it has also been shown that adults and adolescents may develop L2 considerably through social, personal, professional or academic interaction (Lightbown and Spada, 2006). However, Butler and Hakuta (2004) note that in order to achieve additive bilingualism both languages must be valued in the society. In cases when bilingualism is not valued by society, bilinguals may feel of not belonging to

either culture, in other words they experience *anomie*: the feeling of disorientation as they lose ties with their country, but do not feel at home in the host country either (Romaine, 1995).

Language acquisition is also a matter of identity, the negotiation of which is crucial in the process of teaching language minority children (Cummins, 2000). The cultural values embedded in the languages a bilingual person has acquired, lead him to the forming of unique cultural and linguistic identities and to the construction of particular loyalties (Garcia, 2009). The learners' attitudes, their motivations and aptitude affect success in L2 acquisition and this, in turn, affects their identity. The ideal situation of additive bilingualism, with both L1 and L2 valued by the learning environment, is beneficial in the formation of a positive identity (Butler and Hakuta, 2004). Immersed in the practices of the different communicative networks of the family and the school, children develop a multiple identity which in turn enhances their own broader development relying on various perspectives; "a bilingual identity constitutes just one dimension of the many that make up a child's identity – their gender, social class, ethnicity, race, nationality, community. But without the added dimension of bilingualism, some of these identities will never be constructed, developed, or represented" (Garcia, 2009: 3085-3087).

The second language learner's motivation and attitude is also affected by social factors such as the "the social dynamic or power relationship" (Lightbown and Spada, 2006:65) that affects the minority group members' L2 learning. Gatbonton et al (2005) who studied the relationship between feelings of ethnic affiliation and mastery of L2 pronunciation found that loyalty to the ethnic group was questioned for those learners who achieved a high level of accuracy in pronunciation in contrast to those who retained their foreign accent. When the power relationship between the two languages is problematic, such perceptions about group identity affect the learner's motivation towards successful learning.

When educational programs that are supposed to be transitional in fact use the children's home language in order to assist the acquisition of the dominant school language, the result is again subtractive bilingualism. Pointing out the insufficiency of both terms *additive* and *subtractive* in order to reflect the diverse context of the modern classrooms, Garcia and Wei conclude that "although bilingual education is spreading throughout the world, most language-minoritized children are still educated in monolingual programs where they remain silent and miseducated" (Garcia and Wei, 2014:1312).

Taking the discussion of the impact of globalization on sociolinguistics further, in Blommaert's (2010) perspective the world is changing into an even more complex one where the notion of community is no longer adequate to include the "web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways" (Blommaert, 2010:1). The author views language through the perspective of mobility and language resources; languages are dislocated from their original time and place they become mobile and more semiotically than linguistically significant. Language phenomena therefore, are better considered as heteroglossic practices, the author argues. "The extreme linguistic diversity in such neighbourhoods generates complex multilingual repertoires in which often several (fragments of) 'migrant' languages and lingua francas are combined" (Blommaert, 2010:7). The author questions the tools that measure competence –a rather relative concept. Thus, perfection may be unachievable even by native speakers whereas language learning is the acquisition of the resources that the individual may lack. Such lack results in truncated, multilingual repertoires with varying degrees of development within its different parts. This, according to the author, explains how immigrant children may understand the parents' language but not speak it because this language constitutes part of their repertoire but only in receptive form. The author summarizes this situation as follows: "Our real 'language' is very much a biographical given, the structure of which reflects our own histories and those of the communities in which we spent our lives" (Blommaert, 2010: 103).

On these grounds, we can argue that when subtractive bilingualism takes place, the two languages compete and the more prestigious L2 replaces L1 in the child's repertoire, affecting his linguistic competence. Underachievement and low academic results at school have been related with the level of valorization of L1 and its use at home; negative results of early bilingual experience have made scholars blame the educational system for the underachievement of immigrant children as linguistic and scholastic results are affected by sociocultural factors (Hamers and Blanc, 2004). Sadly, it seems true that "schools reflect society, they do not lead change" (Romaine, 1995:285).

#### **4.5. Language shift**

When socioeconomic, demographic or personal reasons force the individual to move away from his home country and settle in another, a combination of factors that promote either language maintenance or language shift may prevail. In any case, a relative level of bilingualism is the inevitable outcome in such a situation (Myers-Scotton, 2006). The proportion of the effect of the second language acquired in the host country on the



individual's first language and vice versa, depends on a multitude of individual and group factors (Clyne, 2003). Research in the field of linguistics and sociolinguistics provides valuable evidence, often with controversial findings. However, literature elucidates the topic and directs us to the aspects that still require deeper investigation, bearing in mind the dynamic nature of language and the variety of factors affecting immigration and minority groups.

Language shift or language maintenance should be considered as two of the possible outcomes of bilingualism; it has already been shown in the previous subchapters that when a speaker becomes bilingual three possible outcomes are to be expected: he may retain L1 as his only language, or learn L2 as a second language while retaining L1 as well. The third possibility is for L2 to replace L1 eventually and become his main or his only language (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

Clyne (2003) defines *language shift* as a phenomenon that refers to language behavior of a whole community, subgroup or individual and implies a gradual process that denotes a change in one of the following: the main language, the dominant language of a group or an individual, the language of one or more domains, the exclusive language for between one and the three of the language skills. According to Garcia (2009) language shift takes place under specific societal conditions: the presence of bilingualism, the uneven levels of status and power between the two languages and the impact of political, economic and social situation on one of the language groups.

Language shift is often complete within three generations for countries like the U.S. and Australia (Clyne, 2003; Garcia, 2009) whereas migration, industrialization and economic change have been considered as its causes. According to Clyne, intergenerational switching that precedes societal shift constitutes "a change of behavior" (Clyne, 2003:21). Nevertheless, research has come to the conclusion that language shift and generally language choice should not be considered in isolation but connected to various factors, the most important of which is the factor of age, as different language behaviors are age related (Myers-Scotton, 2006; Extra and Verhoeven, 1999).

Garcia (2009) warns that when language shift refers to the reduction of forms and uses of minoritized languages, it may result in language death. According to Hamers and Blanc "when the group's language ceases to be spoken by its members we have a case of 'language death', even though the language may continue to be spoken somewhere else. The ethnic identity of the group may survive if its language is not one of its core values"

(Hamers and Blanc, 2004:297). The authors distinguish language shift from *attrition*, a phenomenon that is common in children that are members of ethnolinguistic minority groups that, like the participants of this study, shift into the language they learn at school; “while ‘language shift’ denotes the loss of language functions, forms and skills between generations, ‘attrition’ refers to the loss of language functions, forms and skills in individuals over time” (Hamers and Blanc, 2004:301). Hamers and Blanc distinguish between *environmental*, *old-age* and *pathological* attrition: the first type is the one that concerns the present study and refers to the “reduced use of language” (Hamers and Blanc, 2004:76) whereas old-age attrition is the outcome of ageing and pathological the result of trauma/disease. However, the authors note that environmental attrition does not imply that L1 will be entirely lost but partial loss of specific L1 aspects may occur. However, total loss may take place when immigrant children are involved.

Wei defines language attrition as “the loss of a first -or later- acquired language, or portion of that language, by individual speakers. It can happen at any point in time during an individual’s life span because the necessary contact with speakers of that language is lacking over a lengthy period” (Wei, 2013:34). For DeBot (1998) language loss in individuals is also characterized as attrition; a subset of language loss which, in its turn, indicates that language skills decline in individuals and groups. Hamers and Blanc (2004) note that in situations of stable diglossia both languages are maintained and used in specific domains and functions as long as there also are stable relations between the groups of the community. When assimilation of one group to the other takes place, maintenance of language is hard for the assimilated group which will no longer use their language for the domains and functions reserved for it.

Although Clyne (2003) states that there is no powerful instrument to assess language shift in general terms, he suggests measuring the level of individual language shift with a comparison between the language of communication the individual used in the past with that of the present. For language communities censuses have been used as a measure of language shift which, as Clyne points out, provide data “involving different degrees of subjective interpretation” (Clyne, 2003:21). Considering all these instruments critically, we come to the conclusion that despite the problems that arise from statistics and numerical data, careful study of the findings can be an important tool in order to achieve an understanding of shift and maintenance of a language.

According to Edwards (1994), language phenomena are social phenomena. This implies that there are many factors that have an effect on the bilingual person’s choice of the language of

communication. Language choice reveals the person's desire to be associated with the values of one speech community or another. An interpretation of this language phenomenon is attempted by Clyne who characterizes language shift as "a product of premigration and postmigration experience mediated through culture" (Clyne, 2003:69). Therefore, he distinguishes the factors that bear an effect on language shift as follows:

1. individual factors (generation, age, exogamy, gender, socioeconomic mobility, proficiency, period of residence)
2. group factors (community size, cultural distance, religion, premigration experience, situation in the homeland, institutional support)
3. general factors (time, place)

Myers-Scotton (2006) also distinguishes between societal, individual and in-group factors that encourage maintenance. Horizontal multilingualism in the larger community, the presence of large communities and time of arrival in the host country are some of the societal level factors, whereas the type of social networks, group culture and attitudes about L1, among others, are considered as in-group factors. In addition, the individual's position within the group network, his level of education, religious issues and psychological attachment to L1 are some of the individual factors that encourage language maintenance according to Myers-Scotton.

For the purposes of the present study, the literature review will focus on specific individual and group factors that apply to the group under study: Albanian immigrant students in a Greek primary school whose L1 appears to be receding. In an empirical study on models of bilingual behaviour in Albanian pupils' families in Greece, Hatzidaki (2005) found that this ethnolinguistic group is undergoing dominant bilingualism. Results from this study revealed that only 62% of the Albanian parents who participated used Albanian only/mainly with their children. Those who had lived in Greece for more than five years and those who intended to stay in Greece for more than five years used Greek more than Albanian. In addition, only 48,5% of their children used Albanian only/mainly with their parents, 46,5% used only Greek with siblings and friends and 47,4% used only Greek with their Albanian friends. Also, only 48,1% speak Albanian "Very well" but the percentage is 74,3% for Greek. All these parameters will be investigated in this research starting from a theoretical perspective.

#### **4.5.1. Individual factors.**

Age/Generation: As mentioned above, one of the functions of language is that of an "age-group marker" (Clyne, 2003: 28). Moreover, language shift is a phenomenon related to age,

as it is the younger generation that is exposed to L2 through education and influence from peers (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Children have been considered as agents of language shift in many studies on minority groups. Such studies have shown that the language of communication between children is L2 including siblings, no matter what language they use when speaking to parents (Bettoni, 1981; Yagmur, 1997; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Clyne, 2003). Therefore, for many immigrant groups language maintenance is the outcome of the need to communicate with older group members, due to the fact that the grandparent generation lacks proficiency in the dominant contact language (Clyne, 2003).

In a psycholinguistic explanation of shift, Köpke (2007) explains how the younger speakers adapt more easily and faster than the older ones to the new linguistic environment, as their synaptic connections are not fully mature. Moreover, it is the frequency of language use that can enhance accessibility of a language, as there is a strong correlation between frequency of language use with the level of activation of a language and the speed of accessibility to it (De Bot, 2004; Köpke, 2007; O'Grady et al., 2009).

In their study of language shift of the younger generation from Chinese to English within three generations in Tyneside, England, Raschka et al. (2002) found that as children move into peer groups they favour the use of English or code-switch between English and Cantonese. Another study by Tuominen (1999) showed that the language of the family talk is not always L1 but the language of the wider communication - in this case English. Tuominen notes that parents use L1 between each other but they use English to communicate with children. Edwards (1994) discusses how younger generations lose interest in L1 even when it is taught at school. Therefore, L1 is not transmitted to children either due to external pressures or in the name of advancement and mobility, with the majority of declining languages confined to the rural area. Often those languages are associated with the "unwanted past" putting the speaker in front of "painful dilemmas" (Edwards, 1994:107).

However, it must be noted that even when there are strong patterns of maintenance among parents, it does not necessarily imply that similar patterns will exist among children. Clyne (2003) notices that this applies to language groups who have recently arrived in Australia and in which parents lack proficiency in English. Yet, in those groups the children do not respond to parents in English. In other groups, however, it is the topic and the domain that determine language choice, as the author notes. Much earlier, Fasold (1984) had stated that it is the oldest age group that maintains language, whereas ages 25-34 exhibit the highest shift rate. However, a rapid shift has been recorded in the study of Xhosa speaking families in South Africa (Deklerk, 2000); in this case the shift having been instigated by parents. This

study shows that the indigenous Xhosa parents wanted to offer their children more job opportunities through L2.

Early research on the German and Dutch speaking postwar immigrant families to Australia shows that language shift can be either instigated by the children or by the parents (Clyne, 2003). Clyne points out how "...part of the shifting process entails the loss of literacy and /or the non-acquisition of the literacy in the next generation" (Clyne, 2003: 46). Illiteracy in what the author characterizes as the *community language* may lead to language shift, as it implies low self-esteem and evaluation of the language while it also reduces access to information through it.

Language proficiency: Referring to English as the dominant language in Australia Clyne (2003) agrees that, despite the lack of evidence for a complete correlation between language proficiency and language shift, the fact that some of the immigrant groups in Australia are not confident with their level of English can be a significant factor of low shift rates. On the other hand, Clyne's study shows the case of Italians in Australia who, despite the fact that they have low confidence in English, exhibit a relatively high level of shift rates. However, Dutch, German, and French speakers show a high language shift rate despite the fact that they exhibit a high confidence rate in L2 (English).

Careful examination of Clyne's research reveals how contradictory such findings are. One of the immigrant groups in Australia that Clyne has studied, the Cantonese speakers, exhibits a substantially higher shift than the other groups, despite the fact that a high percentage does not speak English at all, or speaks only a little. In the same study, Spanish, Greek, Italian and Polish second generation shift is quite high, although only a small percentage of their members have a high English proficiency. Therefore, the author concludes that in the case of Australia the selection of home language may be a matter of either will or need, depending on the parents' confidence in speaking English. As far as it concerns the delay in language shift in cases like the Greek/ Italian Australians, Clyne offers the following reasons: cultural distance decreases the level of English proficiency but increases reliance on community language networks. Over time, however, the second and first generation of these specific ethnolinguistic groups shifted into English.

Morita (2007) studied the language shift of Chinese in Thailand and came to the conclusion that shift is an outcome of assimilation, naming the decline of Chinese education, the pro-Thai policies and the positive attitudes towards Thai society as the basic factors of shift. This situation presents similarities with the focus of my research: the assimilationist approach of

the educational policies and the parents' preference for Greek result in language shift of the second generation young Albanian immigrants in Greece (see Chapter 6).

#### **4.5.2. Group factors**

Group/community size: Research has investigated the relationship between group size and shift, and the findings can be characterized as ambivalent (Clyne, 2003). Gal (1979) provides evidence to support the view that group size is important, based on the study of the group of Hungarians living in Austria. Although these people do not live far from the borders with Hungary, the number of Hungarian speakers is declining. This may happen due to the fact that they live in a small community but other factors also interfere, such as the norm of speaking German in the presence of other German-speakers and reasons of socio-economic mobility. However, Myers-Scotton (2006) warns that a large number of speakers do not always guarantee that a language will be maintained.

In their study of the Vietnamese community in California, the second largest group there, Young and Tran (1999) found that it has shown a rapid shift towards English; despite the fact that the community members live closely together, they retain cultural connection to the homeland and their religion ties.

Another study on long-term immigrant groups (Al Khatib, 2001) was carried out on Armenians living in Jordan. The study concluded that, although factors that promote maintenance are present, the Armenians have Arabic as the main language in a range of domains. Another research (Dweik, 2000) was carried out in a Chechen immigrant community in Jordan, a larger group than the Armenians, with large concentration, institutional support, support through the media and cultural associations, only 30% use Arabic and 58% Arabic and Chechen. Findings revealed that Chechens use Chechen at home, in contrast with the Armenian group who wish to retain culture by retaining their Armenian names while Arabic is used as the means of communication.

The issue of language and ethnicity has also been a topic of debate among researchers. According to Banks "language is the fundamental medium through which ethnicity is transmitted and cultural identity is formed....Ethnicity and Language intertwine, language being the medium and ethnicity the message" (Banks, 2001:282). Myers-Scotton (2006) notes how language is one of the most "visible" symbols of an ethnic group and how many languages all over the world are linked to ethnic identity. However, she adds that in the case

of groups of second generation immigrants, the maintenance of L1 as an ethnic symbol “does not hold much attraction” (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 102).

Therefore, language and ethnicity are related in different ways in different contexts. However, “a language is not completely lost when it ceases to fulfil its entire range of communicative functions. Nor does a group lose its ethnicity and identity when language declines” (Romaine, 1995:285).

Institutional/school support: Support is required if the group is to maintain their language (Matras, 2009). Institutional support has been considered as a vital factor if a language is to be maintained (Fasold, 1984). When the young generation is exposed to a more dominant language through schooling and peers, the shift by the third generation is almost unavoidable, especially for immigrant communities (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

A study by Mugeon and Beniak (1989) on the French Canadians in Welland, Quebec, Canada, found that even though English was not supported by institutions or the school system, the children used English for peer-group communication. The authors provide evidence of strong shift to English, since it was used as home language by 54% of francophone adults whereas French was mostly used within the school setting (cf. Myers-Scotton, 2006). As Myers-Scotton notes, bilinguals who mainly learn and use the minority language in the school are unlikely to acquire a complete mastery of the language, grammar and of informal styles, which is how she explains why the specific group are unlikely to pass their French to their children. However, in Africa L1 is maintained among the people of one ethnic group in Ibadan, the Nupe, that have maintained Nupe in an area where English is the official language and Yoruba the lingua franca. In a study by Oyetade (1995) that provides useful data from research of the children’s repertoire –which is also an interest of the present study- revealed that only Nupe is used with parents and other children in the home domain. However, at school children use only Yoruba and English but no Nupe, even during the breaks. For these people, the use of L1 in the home domain seems to support maintenance of L1 within generations while they also learn other languages that they allocate to different in- group and out-group functions.

Researchers, however, agree on the maintenance of linguistic background as an important factor of learning (Banks, 2001; Cummins, 2001, 2003). When L1 is maintained, supported and used as a resource, L2 learning is facilitated because the child applies skills already acquired while learning L1 (Paradis et al., 2011; Garcia, 2009; Cummins 2000; Riches and Genesee, 2006); there are many cognitive benefits for the bilingual students (Bialystok 2007;

Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), and for the development of their metacognitive and literacy skills (Bialystok, 2007). Interdependence (Cummins, 1981b) implies a “broad-based facilitative transfer” (Paradis et al., 2011:117) in the sense that the individual transfers skills already acquired in the L1 to L2; “what is learned in one language does not have to be re-learned in another, since conceptual knowledge transfers, and it is just linguistic labels that might have to be taught” (García, 2009: 2217-2220).

Romaine (1995) points out that children experience conflict at school when they lack the cultural background it supports, since the eradication of native language and culture and the assimilation into the majority one has been the traditional policy implemented implicitly or explicitly towards minority groups. When the school fails to let the child develop in his mother tongue, it can partially legitimize oppression and, even worse, by marginalizing the language, the features used by the speakers are stigmatized, turning language use into a symbol of a generally stigmatized social identity. For the present study, Romaine’s remark is particularly significant in the interpretation of the subjects’ perceptions in regard with the use of Albanian, as it will be shown in chapter 6.

#### **4.5.3. Language status.**

Early literature on language status showed that prestige differences between languages have a bearing on language shift (Fasold, 1984). Dorian (1981) carried out a study in East Sunderland, where the languages spoken are English and Gaelic -the latter having a longer history, but lower status. Over the years English became associated with “civilized behaviour” whereas Gaelic with the “savages” of the Highlands. Eventually, English became the majority language. As in Gal’s study (1979), there are age-correlated patterns, since the younger generation spoke English but the older Gaelic, whereas within the family the language depended on the age of the addressee. Moreover, grandparents and parents used Gaelic with others but English with children. As a result, the children have become passive bilinguals; they understand Gaelic but cannot speak it. Therefore, Gaelic is going to die since children grow up monolingually in English.

As Clyne (2003) argues, in Australia even groups with high international status, like German, have also shifted. However, Clyne agrees that religion, class, national and regional identity of a language group may determine different attitudes to the language, leading to stigma, negative attitudes and a high rate of language shift in the specific context.



This variety of evidence best proves that all the above factors cannot be viewed in isolation but rather than as “intersecting and contributing in combination to language maintenance and to language shift” (Clyne, 2003: 54). It is not easy to define a language loss or shift situation because many factors interact in different ways depending on the situation, the importance of the speakers’ characteristics and the languages involved. These are micro and macro factors that affect the speech community, such as social, economic and linguistic, at group and individual level. Many studies and many models have investigated these factors: the taxonomic-typological model (Edwards, 1992), the ethno linguistic vitality model (Bourhis, 2001), the predictive and reversing language shift model (Fishman, 1991), and the cultural and core values model (Smolicz, 1981). All of them depicted part of the language shift process and each one carried its shortcomings as well (Clyne, 2003). Eventually we come to share Clyne’s view who concludes that “language use reflects people’s multiple identities, the different part of whose may be emphasized at different times and different places” (Clyne, 2003:69). As Baker (2006) also notes, the factors are political, social, demographic, cultural and linguistic and all of them are important in the way they interact with each other and depending on how they are prioritized. Thus, each case needs to be looked at individually.

As to the crucial question: can we predict whether a language group will shift to the L2 or retain L1? Research findings have indicated that the attempt to predict the future of language use is of a hypothetical nature, bearing in mind that many factors are involved, that language use is not static, that immigration depends on various economic and political factors and that the predictive value of the factors is minimal as many sociocultural variables are involved (Hamers and Blanc, 2004). However, one of the basic predictors of the changes in language use of the speech group is the language spoken at home. According to Clyne (2003) the home language is a good predictor of future use and maintenance, as a language that is not transmitted in the home is not likely to survive within the next generation. Hamers and Blanc, have pointed out that “when the family domain is invaded and parents cease to transmit their language to their children, and the latter are no longer motivated to learn it, language shift is almost complete” (Hamers and Blanc, 2004:297); this description depicts exactly the situation of the research participants as I will explain in Chapter 6.

However, two languages might survive if each has its own domain, bearing in mind that high diglossia entails discrimination from the part of the dominant group and results in segregation (Boyd and Latomaa, 1999). Clyne (2003) on the other hand, offers quite a realistic perspective: language shift constitutes a subconscious decision when the disadvantages of language maintenance, such as the negative burden on one’s self-identity and time/money spent on maintaining L1, outweigh the advantages. Therefore, we cannot but agree with him

that between the two “democratic rights” (Clyne, 2003: 68) to maintain or to shift, the balance turns in favour of shift, although how and when it occurs varies from group to group.

We will close this sub-chapter with Garcia’s remark that, compared to language shift, the study of language maintenance has not received equal attention; shift is more frequent as minoritized groups are led towards linguistic assimilation into the dominant language. “The language maintenance of minority groups has not been looked upon favorably, whereas the language maintenance of majority groups has been considered natural and uninteresting” (Garcia, 2009: 2521-2522). Indeed, the possibility of shift or attrition is what interests the present study as well: evidence from data analysis indicates that the subjects of the present study show high levels of attrition or -at group level- shift from Albanian to Greek as it will be shown in chapter 6.

#### **4.6. Discussion.**

In a first critical view, it comes as a conclusion that more findings on bilingual immigrant populations are needed in order to achieve a realistic picture of the linguistic phenomenon of language shift. The overview of research has led us to the conclusion that it is hard to maintain L1; “it is hard to stop a shift when a generation is exposed to a more dominant language...especially in immigrant communities shift by the third generation is a foregone conclusion” (Myers-Scotton, 2006:100). It is not a matter of conditions or features as the same conditions and features may apply to different bilingual communities, according to Myers-Scotton. What matters is how much each of these conditions applies to a specific community. So, even though case studies include all those factors, we cannot predict the future of a language with certainty. What this study does is to investigate the extent to which specific factors affect the bilingual repertoire of the research participants.

For the purposes of this research, the factors of age, generation, L2 proficiency and institutional (school) support will be mainly taken into consideration as data so far reveal their impact on the patterns of language use of young Albanian immigrant students. Equally important for this study is the significance of the role of the individual speaker (Matras, 2009) in situations of language contact; hence the method of Language Biographies as a method of research. In addition, the issue of maintenance of linguistic/cultural background as an important factor of learning, the significance of language patterns within the family and parental discourse strategies and the development of bilingual repertoires in the context of a globalized world are also important for this study; data revealed that they constitute important parameters that shape the research participants’ patterns of language use.

This thesis started with the description of the concept of migration in the broad context of an increasingly globalized world and its implications on the education of young immigrants. A specific aspect of the phenomenon followed, the Albanian migration to Greece, which defined the research context and specified the framework for the analysis of data. In this chapter, an overview of studies on the issue of bilingualism that provide the theoretical premise for this study was presented, as well as findings from previous research that this study draws on. In the following chapters the research on the bilingual repertoires of Albanian immigrant students in the Greek primary school system will be presented starting with the research methodology in Chapter 5.

## Chapter 5

### Research methodology

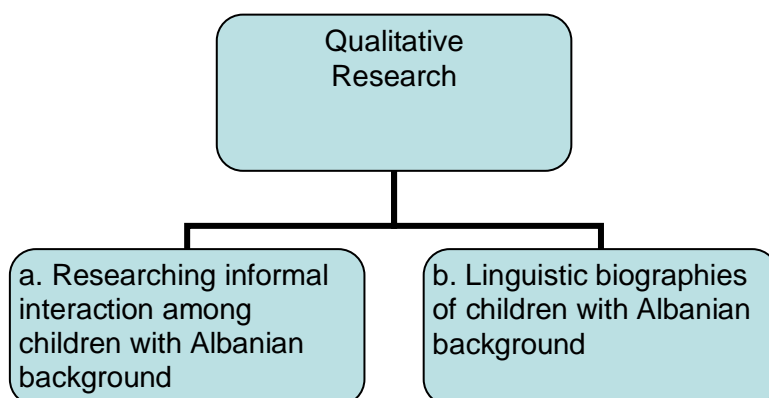
#### **Introduction.**

In this chapter, the research methodology is described with an emphasis on issues pertaining to qualitative research, as well as on specific issues regarding the method of collecting oral data through recordings, interviews and constructing the participants' language biographies. Furthermore, the issue of using children as research subjects is investigated, highlighting the topic of reliability and validity of data as well as the impact of context in the process of data collection and interpretation. I have chosen the approach of qualitative methodology for my research because it focuses on the collection of data that derive upon the natural setting where the researcher has to observe, describe and interpret them as they are (Hoepfl, 1997; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Shank, 2002). According to Fasold (1984), language shift or maintenance is reflected in the cultural values of the community which, in their turn, are manifested in the language choices made by the members of the community. As Fasold remarks, cultural values cannot be measured with validity by statistical data. On these grounds, a qualitative approach was selected for this research, aiming at the collection of natural occurring data and the investigation of the students' linguistic preferences, rather than on numbers based on statistical procedures or experimenting and testing hypothesis (Silverman, 2005; Straus and Corbin, 1990).

The methods I have used in my qualitative research are two (Diagram 1):

- a. research of informal interaction of children with an Albanian background through recordings of oral data
- b. research of the linguistic background of Albanian children through the construction of their Linguistic biographies.

Diagram 1: Research methods.



### **5.1. Children as research participants**

One of my concerns regarded the validity of data collected by children as participants, especially with regard to their interviews. Therefore, I studied the relevant literature and relied on it during the process of data collection and analysis. According to the relevant theories changes in conceptions of childhood and the children's place in society during the last two decades have influenced the research methodology towards an increasing involvement of children in research projects (Shaw et al., 2011). Dockett and Perry (2007) remark that latest research theory has shifted from the positivist approach that categorized all children according to expectations based on their stages of development, to the recognition of every child's "individual and unique experience of his or her childhood" (Dockett and Perry, 2007:47) and the belief that educators, researchers and adults in general have much to learn about children and their experiences from children themselves. Along similar lines, Kyronlampi-Kylmanen and Maatta (2011) argue that research can not ignore certain groups such as children, if it aims at obtaining a full picture of a situation. The authors argue that keeping children's experiences invisible derives from conceptions "with the children's words not being regarded as a resource because they are understood as persons in need" (Kyronlampi-Kylmanen and Maatta, 2011:92) or having their perspectives filtered by the adults' interpretations (Shaw et al., 2011).

To the question of whether research with children is the same or different from research with adults, Punch (2002) argues that potential differences mainly derive from adult perceptions that position children in the margin of adults' society and less from inherent differences. According to Noble-Carr, it is a widely accepted view that children can be effectively engaged in research on an issue "that seeks to understand and respond appropriately to children's unique perspectives and experiences" (Noble-Carr, 2006:52) when this is done in an effective and ethical way.

Good qualitative practices are essential when carrying out qualitative research with children and young people (Shaw et al., 2011). For instance, the researcher must have clearly defined research objectives that are relevant and important to the participants. He should ensure that discussion takes place in a non-threatening and comfortable setting and in a relaxed atmosphere where all participants are encouraged to share their views. Furthermore, he must exhibit active listening skills and be sensitive to the impact of the process on the participants. Dockett and Perry (2007) remark that questions regarding the validity, reliability and trustworthiness of data should constitute one of the researcher's main concerns regardless of the research participants' age, as all research participants may offer expedient responses. Therefore, as the authors remark, research should not seek one truthful

perspective but “accept that children, as adults, may have many different perspectives on the same issue, and that these are reflective of their context/s” (Dockett and Perry, 2007:48). They propose that the researcher must be “involved in ongoing interactions within the research context and to build relationships that support this involvement. Knowing children, and their knowing the researcher, as well as the context, are essential parts of constructing meaning and interpreting the data” (Dockett and Perry, 2007:51). Kyronlampi-Kylmanen and Maatta put forward the view that the method of triangulation can be applied in order to test the reliability of information collected from children, provided that “the aim of triangulation is not to diversify the phenomenon studied, but to discover a more complete truth than the children are able to tell” (Kyronlampi-Kylmanen and Maatta, 2011:92). Noble-Carr (2006) suggests applying a multi-modal approach with a combination of methods while other crucial factors such as familiarity, establishing trust and a rapport must be considered. For instance, the author considers the method of free narrative accounts by allowing children to lead the unstructured or semi-structured interview as an effective approach.

Punch (2002) puts forward the view that the researcher’s attitudes towards children may be the reason for lack of validity and reliability in data derived from children. The author notes how people assume that children lie, like adults may also do, due to reasons such as avoidance of painful subjects, fear, shame, desire to please the researcher, wish to create favourable impressions or just being wrong. Investing adequate time to build up a trusting relationship with children -the same as with adults- minimizes the risk of obtaining unreliable information. On these grounds, Kyronlampi-Kylmanen and Maatta (2011) argue that the researcher has to enter the children’s culture. This is a time consuming process while he must also win the trust of several adults as a precondition. According to Punch (2002), there is the same need to build rapport with both adults and children as research participants. The problem, however, arises from the fact that adults may have difficulties in building rapport with children out of fear of being patronizing, not behaving appropriately or having difficulties in finding common ground with them.

Shaw et al. (2011) emphasize on several methodological issues regarding young research participants, such as the fact that children have shorter attention spans than adults, the need to create an open and informal atmosphere, the need to stress that there are no right or wrong answers, using short questions and simple language, avoiding abstract concepts, checking that the respondent interprets the question or a response as it was intended by the researcher. According to the authors, there is no age limit at which children can participate in research as long as the researcher applies the appropriate methodology to the age group in question. For example, as the authors point out, very formal or structured methods are less

appropriate for children of primary school age. The research methods must be sensitive to the children's competencies or interests so that they feel more at ease with an adult researcher (Punch, 2002). The author argues that this does not imply that children can not engage with methods used with adults but that they have different characteristics from adults, such as their use of language or the way they understand the world. Punch (2002) suggests a combination of traditional research methods that are used with adults and methods suitable for children. This way the researcher can avoid possible patronizing attitudes and "prevent biases arising from overreliance on one method" (Punch, 2002:338). The distinction between 'child' and 'adult' research methods is misleading according to the author, since the choice of methods does not depend only on the research subject's age but also on their competence, experience, social status, the cultural environment, the physical setting, the research questions and the competencies of the researcher.

According to Noble-Carr (2006), the researcher has to ensure that during the research process participants remain in a position of power. A significant parameter at this point is the research setting as it "is crucial in establishing a perception of power equalisation before the collection of data has begun" (Noble-Carr, 2006:17). The author points out that the way children interact with adults varies according to the setting. The researcher must be aware of how the research setting may influence children's response to research. Dockett and Perry also remark how context is important in understanding the children's experiences and recognizing that their "capabilities reflect their social and cultural contexts" (Dockett and Perry, 2007:49). The research context and setting is considered as equally important for both children and adults. The researcher, however, must be aware of the control differences between children and adults in different research environments (Punch, 2002). "Adult spaces dominate in society, thus it can be difficult to find child spaces in which to conduct research. For example, the school environment is a place for children to learn but is organized and controlled by adult teachers" (Punch, 2002:328). Therefore, the researcher needs to consider the possibility that when research is carried out at school the participants may feel the pressure to submit correct answers (Shaw et al., 2011). Appropriate measures must be taken to minimize the risks, such as ensuring that participants understand that all responses are equally acceptable, dressing informally, avoiding formal seating (like sitting behind a desk) by coming down to the level of the child.

In the analysis and interpretation of qualitative data, Shaw et al. (2011) remark that the researcher should retain the child's voice and perspective, validate the research findings if possible (for instance, through a group session with the participants) and involve children in the interpretation of data in a way that it is meaningful for them and beneficial to the

research. It is also suggested by the authors that the researcher should give feedback to the participants on the research findings.

Noble-Carr (2006) raises the issue of reflexivity in the interpretation of data because the researcher's conception about childhood, memories and personal biases may influence the interpretation of data; "the way we engage them in research activities should be based on the way they understand and explain their world (Noble-Carr, 2006:4). Punch (2002) notes that researchers should critically reflect on their role and their assumptions as well as on the choice of methods and their application, keeping in mind that personal assumptions about the position of children in society affect the research methods and the interpretation of the data. As Dockett and Perry conclude, children are "competent, capable, and effective reporters of their own experiences" and "valuable and trustworthy informants" (Dockett and Perry, 2007:60). The fact that their unique experiences, perspectives and expectations may differ at both group and individual level does not imply that the accounts of their experiences are unreliable. "The challenge that lies ahead for those researchers committed to hearing children's voices, is how to do this in a way that is both effective and ethical" (Noble-Carr, 2006:1).

Implementing the above principles on my research, it was important to make the participants feel safe as far as it concerns their use of L1 at mine and their teacher's presence and reassure them that their overall assessment of academic performance would not be threatened. This was achieved with group and one-to-one discussions with the participants and their parents as well as with the Information Letters and Consent Forms (App. 6) as ethical issues were involved in the process of data collection. The Ethics procedure for my study is described in detail in Appendix 6, recognizing the children's rights to informed consent, protection, privacy and confidentiality. Both the students and their parents were assured that anonymity of the participants would be preserved and that the recordings and the transcriptions would remain absolutely confidential and would be used only for academic purposes.

For this specific research it was highly unlikely that problems regarding the impact on the teacher-student relationship would arise as I was not teaching in that school for a period of two years, including the year of data collection, and during that time I visited it only for the research purposes; in order to collect data or to check the collection of data and maintain the trusting relationship and rapport with the participants. Moreover, the participants' voices and perspective were retained in the construction of their language biographies with the phonetic transcription and accurate translation and interpretation of oral recordings and interviews



(see sub-chapter 5.5). Negotiation of power involved the selection of the research language as well as the choice between interviews or narratives. For instance, participants G1 and G6 (App.11) preferred the narrative instead of the interview. Finally, during the whole process I remained reflexive of the impact of my methods and their application on data collection and interpretation.

## **5.2. The research participants and procedure of recruitment**

The primary school where this research was carried out is a state school in a sub-urban area in the province of Korinthia where the resident population's major occupation is agriculture. Twelve teachers of Greek work in this school. There are also two teachers of English, one teacher of French and one of German (for 5th and 6th grades), two P.E. teachers, an I.C.T. teacher, an Arts teacher, a Drama and a Music teacher. All the teachers are of Greek origin. During the years the research was carried out, from 2012 to 2014, the student body consisted of approximately 180 students and linguistically and culturally diverse students (foreign, immigrant, repatriates and Roma gypsies) constituted a percentage of 28%. Moreover, children with an Albanian citizenship constituted a percentage of 23.5% of the total student body. The rest of the foreign or immigrant students came from Romania, Ireland and Moldavia.

The research participants are thirteen Albanian, immigrant, primary school students aged from 8 to 11; a small number of participants that allows for more intensive observation.

I have divided them in two groups according to the time of residence in Greece:

- a. the Early Bilinguals (EB), eight students who came to Greece at infancy or at a pre-school age
- b. Late Bilinguals (LB), five students who came to Greece at an older age (after the age of six or after they had already started primary school in the sending country).

In order to retain the anonymity of the participants, they were assigned code names depending on the research group they belonged to. Late Bilinguals were given code names with the initial A (based on the Albanian language acquired or instructed before coming to Greece) and Early Bilinguals the initial G (based on the Greek language they have been formally instructed). The participants came from Albanian, labour immigrant families and attended monolingual mainstream classes where they learn Greek, the only language used at school. In order to be included in this research, the participants had to fulfil specific criteria, such as to have been my students in the past so that a trusting relationship had been established, to be of Albanian origin and to participate in the research according to the ethics

policy for research set by the Ethics committee of Aston University.

After the approval of the research by the university Ethics Committee, negotiation with the participants' parents was carried out by the school principal who guaranteed anonymity and access to the collected data only for academic purposes. Only after obtaining the parents' permission the students were interviewed, as delicate issues might be involved concerning ethnic identity, the relationships inside the family and the reasons for immigrating. Regarding the issue of consent, as a first step permission was sought by contacting the school principal. An information letter was submitted to the school principal, including all the basic information about the research, accompanied by a consent form (Appendix 6.1). After permission was granted, the school principal and the researcher contacted the parents with the aim of informing them about the aim of the research and the relevant issues of anonymity and confidentiality of data. An Information Letter was submitted to parents, followed by a consent form (Appendix 6.2). After obtaining the parents' consent, the researcher asked for the participants' consent discussing with them about the aim of the research and issues regarding the reasons why their contribution is important, the methods of data collection, their rights as research participants, the anonymity and storage of data and the use of the research conclusions. The delicate issue of the teacher-researcher dual role, as far as it concerns convincing the students and their parents that our teacher-student relationship would not be affected, also had to be addressed. Another simplified, according to their age, Information Sheet was given to the participants followed by a similarly simplified consent form (Appendix 6.3). In addition, all the participants attended the Day School: daily classes that take place at school after the end of the lessons and for a limited number of students who come from families with specific working schedules. They involve tutoring on the school subjects, whereas there is enough free time for relaxing or playing games. It was during that time that most of the recordings took place.

I will close this sub-chapter with the presentation of my own profile as the researcher of this study because I believe it will add some important information with regard to my interest in this topic and my eligibility as a researcher. In order to explain my interest in this topic I should start from my long experience - approximately 25 years - as a teacher of English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) in Greece and Cyprus. During these years I have worked in the private and the state school sector at all levels of primary and secondary education. I have worked in the school where the research was carried out for approximately fourteen years. The classes I have worked with have always constituted of immigrant and culturally and/or linguistically diverse students, with the majority having an Albanian origin.

My experience as a teacher of Albanian immigrant children has provided me with insights into their educational problems and needs as well as the teachers' problems and challenges within an educational system that ignores the different linguistic and cultural background or, even worse, considers it a problem for the academic process. As a result of the need to study this issue further, during my Msc studies I carried out a case study on the issue of integrating culturally and linguistically diverse students in the Greek primary school. The findings of that case study showed that teachers seemed confused, helpless and cautious about teaching multicultural classes, while negative attitudes in the school environment and lack of tolerance inhibited the students' academic progress. A deeper understanding of this group was suggested as far as it concerns the way these children handle their languages, their patterns of communication the motivations behind their choices, the role of the family and the school in the process of second language acquisition. Under this scope, the present study can be considered as a follow-up of my initial investigation of this situation.

### **5.3. Recording spoken data: recordings of informal interaction.**

I selected the method of recording informal interaction among the participants in order to investigate the participants' language use in casual, uninhibited communication deciding that in contrast to written data such as field notes, recordings provide more accurate information. According to Manes and Wolfson (1980) the best method to collect qualitative data is to collect samples of spontaneous speech in natural settings when the participants do not know they are being observed. Silverman (2005) stresses how impossible it is for the researchers to rely on their recollections of the observed conversations, adding that recordings allow them to focus on specific aspects of speech when studying the recordings.

During the process of data collection I considered how this method bears specific risks that need to be dealt with. For instance, speech in such cases may be unsystematic in the sense that individual characteristics of the participants may be ignored, such as their socioeconomic status or their ethnic identity. There is also the danger of the researcher being unsystematic in the method of collection of spoken data in the sense that the sample population recorded can be random and undefined. Moreover, the danger of recording biased extracts is another problem the researcher might face in the cases where the permission to use the tape recorder is granted within limitations (Beebe and Cummings, 1995).

For my research approximately twenty hours of recording was achieved in order to include a variety of situations as well as an equal percentage of contributions by all the participants

(App. 9). The recordings were carried out during casual, spontaneous and relaxed communication during the Day School classes, spoken when the students performed group-work (such as negotiating group organisation, helping each other, explaining the task) or played games. The day-school room provided a casual, relaxing setting where the students took breaks from the tutorial day-school classes, playing board games and talking without the presence of the teacher who was discretely overseeing the process from the next room.

Due to the fact that I was not teaching those students during the period the research was taking place, two of the Greek teachers of the day-school class did most of the recordings. The Greek teachers had established a trusting relationship with the participants too as they had been their teachers in the past; so the participants felt they could express themselves freely when they communicated with other students even in the teachers' presence. Nevertheless, in order to eliminate the risk of collecting biased information, in the extracts I have selected for analysis the teacher was not present.

A voice-recorder device was used that was always on the teacher's desk, even during the lessons or hanging from the teacher's neck during the breaks so that the students got used to its presence and they did not feel uncomfortable.

#### **5.4. The approach of Language Biographies.**

The rationale for the second method of data collection, the construction of the research subjects' language biographies, lies in the significance of the individual speaker's role in the study of language contact situations (Matras, 2009). In addition, I chose this method based in Blommaert and Backus assumption that patterns of language learning follow the individual's biography and their perceptions of repertoires as "indexical biographies, and analyzing repertoires amounts to analyzing the social and cultural itineraries followed by people, how they manoeuvred and navigated them, and how they placed themselves into the various social arenas they inhabited or visited in their lives" (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:22).

The method of language biographies aims at shedding light into how the participants think they acquired the language and how they use it (Nekvapil, 2003). Nekvapil defines a language biography as a "biographical account in which the narrator makes a language, or languages - and their acquisition and use in particular - the topic of his or her narrative" (Nekvapil, 2003:64). According to Pavlenko (2007), the importance of language biographies for research lies in that they help the researcher obtain a better picture of the participants' background and identify their resources and needs. Moreover, they constitute significant

resources of understanding how people experience second language learning and, consequently, of expanding the researchers' understanding on second language acquisition. As Pavlenko remarks, language biographies offer an insight into the participants' world and provide us with an insider's view of the processes of language learning or language shift. Added to that, they can highlight the connections between learning procedures and learning phenomena, pointing to new directions of research. They are important in data analysis as they constitute the intermediate level between the macro level of sociolinguistics (historic, political, economic, cultural background) and the micro level (the context, the language used, the audience, the individual) (Busch, 2006). Busch emphasizes the importance of language biographies in revealing attitudes towards language and identity, shedding light into how an individual experiences the broader social context and how language reveals self and identity. Furthermore, it is an approach that may indicate the social dimensions of language practices. Language biographies may supplement the method of data collection through recordings, providing socio-historic or socio-political data in order to achieve triangulation and pinpoint or explain inconsistencies/similarities between linguistic and factual data and different aspects of the same theme (Pavlenko, 2007).

What I hope to achieve with the construction of the participants' linguistic biographies (App.10) is to obtain information that will help me elucidate how the participants learned both languages, as well as when, where, why and with whom they use them. This information is illustrated in Appendix 8, Tables 4-11.

As it was stated above, the method of semi-structured interviews (App.11) was implemented for the construction of the language biographies. The interviews constituted a significant method of data collection supplementing the spoken data and revealing the participants' linguistic and social background. This way the danger of the research being unsystematic and ignoring the participants' individual characteristics was minimized. Research appears to validate the view that face-to-face interview has many advantages as a method of data collection and it may be used either as the primary strategy for data collection, or in combination with other methods (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982). It is a method that enables the researcher to get the story behind the participant's experience by obtaining in-depth information around the topic. As a rebuttal to these points, it might be argued that interviews might not be reliable sources of information because analysis may be affected by various factors, such as the background of the interviewer or the interviewees' judgement, prejudice and beliefs (Huberman, 1993). Butt and Raymond have pointed out the risks of using interviews in data collection: "Autobiographical data and narrative are subject to incompleteness, personal bias, and selective recall in the process by which narrative is

constructed. The fallibility of memory, selective recall, repression, the shaping of stories according to dispositions, internal idealization, and nostalgia or rumour all present the possibility of biased data" (Butt and Raymond, 1989:413). Added to that, the researcher's social background may have an impact on the research process because the researcher's role is in fact that of an active participant; he directs the research process by designing the questions and making decisions on the interpretation of data. Therefore, I had to consider all these risks and take the necessary measures to avoid them. Provided the researcher is aware of the risks, interviews are still useful as they allow the researcher to establish rapport with the respondents since interviews constitute a more personal form of research than questionnaires (ERIC, 1997). In addition, interviews are generally an easier method of participation to the research, and this makes it more suitable for the participants in this research who are children. Moreover, in comparison to other types of data collection, interviews permit more complex questions to be asked and when the researcher uses a lengthy Data-Collection-Instrument (DCI, a document containing questions) the interview becomes an effective method of gathering data. In order to conduct an effective interview, the interviewer must fulfil specific qualification criteria, such as to be knowledgeable and familiar with the topic, to be tolerant, especially when interviewing children, to be critical regarding the reliability of the respondents and to be able to interpret what is said by the interviewer (ERIC, 1997).

For my research I used a Data-Collection-Instrument (DCI), a document containing questions based on the European Language Portfolio (edited by the Council of Europe) (Appendix 7). The questions served as interview guides so that I was able to focus on collecting basically the same information from each participant. The interview questions were flexible enough so that the interviews could be modified when specific areas needed to be investigated for each participant (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). They allowed the interviewees to use their own words in meaningful, unanticipated and exploratory responses. The participants were free to choose the way they preferred to be interviewed: through questions and answers or free narrative based on the DCI questions.

The interviews took place before the recordings of spoken interaction so that each participant's specific characteristics and background were considered in the process of reflecting on the recorded interaction and analysis. They were of short duration (10-15 minutes on average) considering the limitation of the children's attention span. The setting was the school, which provided safety to both the participant and the researcher as they were both used to it. Most of the interviews were carried out by the Greek teacher in the school library or the teacher's office. Prior to the interviewing stage, a rapport had been

established with both the interviewer and the researcher (based on a previous teacher-student relationship), as well as a realistic timetable. At the same time, the limitations of the research context and the school setting might pose on data collection were taken into consideration. For instance, participant G4 stated that at school she does not want to speak Albanian due to perceptions of stigmatization of this language and because it is a Greek school where everyone must speak Greek (Appendix 11, p.224). In the same tone, participant A5 stated that at school he “always learns Greek”.

### **5.5. Analyzing the data**

I used the Gat II transcription conventions as presented in Selting et al. (1998) because it is a system that depicts a faithful representation of spoken interaction. Also, the EXMARaLDA (<http://www.exmaralda.org/en>) software was used in order to facilitate the archiving and management and possible reuse or share of the language corpora deriving from the recordings.

Not all recordings of student interaction were transcribed, but only the ones that met specific criteria:

- a. they included more than one speaker,
- b. the teacher was not present
- c. they included a variety of speech events.
- d. they included at least an utterance in Albanian

Apart from classroom interaction, some parts of the interviews are also transcribed, those which included crucial information for responding to the research questions (App. 11).

The data was analysed applying the model of Content Analysis (Straus and Corbin, 1990; Hsieh and Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2000; Patton, 2002) in order to study language use and the process of language maintenance or shift in the specific context of place and time and answer the research questions.

Through the model of Content Analysis (Straus and Corbin, 1990) the analysis of data was focused on repeated themes salient in life stories, coding the results according to themes and patterns that emerged. These themes are illustrated in Appendix 8, Tables 4-11 and refer to the patterns of communication within the family and the community, patterns of language use and their functions, self-reported language competence and the social impact of Albanian. Questions about the period of residence in the host country, the language spoken at home, and the frequency of visitations to the country of origin elucidated the

reasons for language choice of the Albanian immigrant children (Appendix 7). Of course, the context was also considered in the analysis as well as the form. Data analysis was sensitive to linguistic resources, transfer, code switching, and interference so that issues of language maintenance and language shift in a community of migrant children could be investigated. As a second level of analysis, through the realist approach to interview data (Silverman, 2005) I was able to ensure the accuracy of my interpretation of the recordings of spoken data by correlating findings on language choice with various characteristics of the students' linguistic and cultural background.

As far as it concerns interaction data analysis (App. 9), no predetermined categories were attempted, as the data indicated the categories that were required at the stage of analysis of data and reflection. Data analysis had to be precise, detailed and data driven whereas any premature theories should be avoided (Heritage, 1984). At this point, the method of Conversation Analysis was also used, starting from observations and then trying to identify the problem for which the observations might serve as the solution (Schegloff, 1992). Conversation Analysis (CA) is defined by Hutchby and Woofit (1998) as the systematic analysis of everyday interaction and the study of recorded, naturally occurring everyday speech, thus underlining recorded transcription in naturally occurring settings as the basis of analysis. The choice of CA was based on its value in representing spoken data authentically and in helping the researcher understand the order in interaction through sequencing and turn-taking. Furthermore, CA is data driven and develops in real time without making use of pre-determined categories and that is why it is suitable for my research. At a later stage, the findings from the analysis of the participants' interaction were interpreted in relation to the cultural and linguistic context they occurred. When it was required, I involved the participants in the data analysis process using them as interpreters or asking them to elucidate specific contributions during the recorded informal interaction.

The present research was in fact multilingual as three languages were involved in it: Greek, Albanian and English. Therefore, I had the dual role of a researcher and a translator. I translated data from interviews and from recorded interaction from Greek to English. As I had no knowledge of Albanian, I used translators for the instances of Albanian into Greek. Then I translated these into English. My role as a translator was very important for the process of data collection and analysis as it carried an impact on the research validity. Therefore, I had to critically reflect on the whole process and make informed decisions on the methods I should use, analyse conceptual and methodological stances, develop ethical sensitivity about the complexities of the research and identify areas of methodological concern (Holmes et al., 2013). For instance, I decided to translate the literal meaning of the words spoken, but





Carrying out multilingual research was a challenging and insightful experience as it was a process that allowed me to develop a greater awareness of the multilingual situation I was researching (Holmes et al., 2013). It enabled me to realize, set and achieve my research aim: to present one more aspect of the “truth”: the linguistic impact of migration through a multilingual perspective; the case of Albanian immigrant children in Greece.

## **5.6. Discussion**

In this research, the children’s rights to informed consent, protection, privacy and confidentiality were respected and all the necessary measures were taken to protect them. The risk of being unsystematic was minimized with a specific and systematic procedure of data collection. The research subjects were not randomly chosen but specific criteria were used in their recruitment. In addition, a combination of methods of data collection were implemented in order to achieve triangulation, test the reliability of information and obtain the complete picture behind the children’s words avoiding overreliance on a single method (Kyronlampi-Kylmanen and Maatta, 2011; Noble-Carr, 2006). Furthermore, the possibility of collecting biased extracts from the recorded interaction among the participants was avoided with careful selection of the extracts for analysis according to specific criteria.

The risk known as “researcher’s paradox” or “observer’s paradox” (Labov, 1972) implying that the participants may not act in the same way as they would if the researcher were not there (Silverman, 2005), was dealt with the establishment of a trustworthy relationship with the participants and the combination of the two methods of data collection.

The present research is in compliance with the principles and guidelines regarding the use of children as research participants; it values the children’s views; the research topic of language choice is relevant and important to the participants as it concerns their everyday life and affects the development of their personality as well as their social life. It was stressed during the interview that there were no right or wrong answers while short questions and simple language was used in the research questions. In addition, the interviewer checked that the respondents interpreted the questions as it was intended.

A significant parameter had to be considered, the school as the research setting, involving all the limitations mentioned above. Effort was made to create a non-threatening and relaxed atmosphere where all participants were encouraged to share their views. Nevertheless, as a researcher I was aware of how the research setting might influence the children’s responses

during the interviews or affect their language choices in the recorded interaction despite my efforts for the contrary, and considered the impact of the setting in analysis and interpretation of data, as I will explain in the following chapter on data analysis.

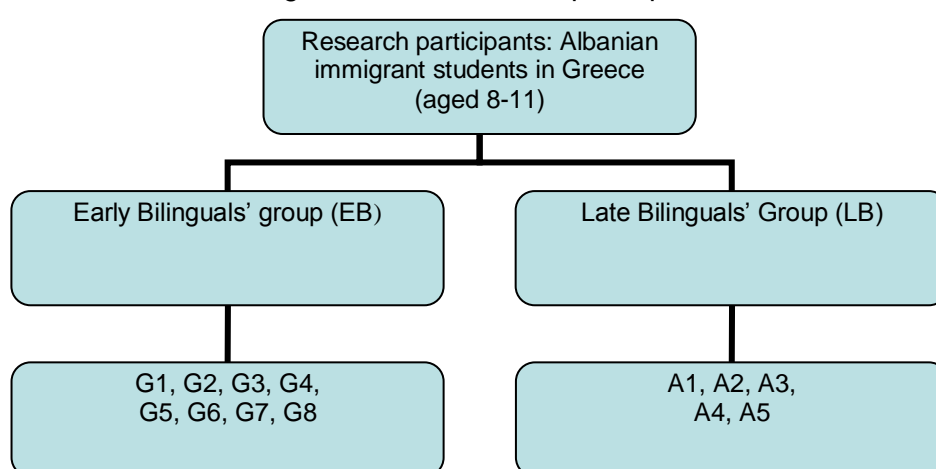
## CHAPTER 6

### ANALYSING INFORMAL INTERACTION AND LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHIES OF CHILDREN WITH ALBANIAN BACKGROUND IN GREECE

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter I will analyse data derived from participants' linguistic biographies and from recordings of informal interaction among them in order to investigate individual bilingualism of second-generation Albanian immigrants in Greece. The participants were divided in two groups based on their time of residence in Greece, as illustrated in Diagram 2.

Diagram 2: The research participants



This chapter will be structured as follows: first, I will analyse data from the participants' linguistic biographies in order to find out how they have learned both languages, in which context and with whom they use Albanian, what their attitude towards Albanian is and which factors determine language choice for them. The patterns of communication used by the participants with people of the same community of linguistic practice (Blommaert, 2010) within the home and the school environment will be identified based on the participants' interviews. Second, I will analyse data derived from recordings of informal interaction in order to investigate patterns of language use in action: the participants' use of code switching from Greek into Albanian will be analysed in terms of function, frequency and the relationship to their linguistic background as this was revealed in the linguistic biographies. Finally, based on the juxtaposition of both methods, I will draw conclusions with regard to the impact of migration on the participants' bilingual repertoire by responding to the question: What happens to the linguistic repertoire of individual speakers of Albanian when they come to contact with Greek?

## 6.1 Analysis of the participants' linguistic biographies

### Introduction

Through the approach of linguistic biographies the background of the participants' acquisition and use of both languages was investigated; a picture of their linguistic background was obtained; their resources and needs were identified (Nekvapil, 2003; Pavlenko, 2007; Busch, 2006). Furthermore, the linguistic biographies supplemented the second method of data collection, the recording interaction among the participants, in order to achieve triangulation and pinpoint or explain inconsistencies or similarities between linguistic and factual data and different aspects of the same theme (Pavlenko, 2007). It should be noted that data from this method presented the participants' perceptions and may also have been affected by the interviewer's presence and the school setting where the interviews took place. Therefore, it was necessary to take a critical stance and form questions in a way that revealed not only what the participants *think is happening*, but also *what is actually happening*.

In order to present the bilingual profile of the research participants based on their linguistic biographies, I will draw upon the theoretical overview of bilingualism that I presented in chapter 4, stressing that these participants can be located on different scales and continua of second language acquisition process. This does not always allow clear-cut classifications as the boundaries among different distinctions seem to overlap for many of the participants. Based on the age they acquired their languages, some of them are *early* bilinguals as they acquired their languages in early childhood, before the age of 6, and some are *late* bilinguals as they acquired the second language, Greek, after the age of 6. It was not easy to identify the sequence of acquisition for all the participants, especially those in the EB group. It can be assumed, therefore, that some of the participants are *simultaneous bilinguals* who learned both languages as first languages - or BFLA children - but most of them are sequential / successive bilinguals as they learned Albanian first and then Greek. The principles of Early Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Acquisition apply to them (see chapter 4). Based on their ability to use their languages, most of them are *receptive bilinguals* as they are able to understand one of their languages, Albanian, without being able to speak or write it. Two of them can be considered as *additive bilinguals* with the Greek not interfering with Albanian and both languages developing, although development is unequal. The majority are *subtractive bilinguals* as learning Greek has interfered with Albanian and appears to have replaced it. Depending on the level of proficiency, they are mainly *dominant* bilinguals as they are more proficient in Greek. In terms of language development, most of them are *ascendant bilinguals* as L2 is developing, whereas in terms of context they are

*circumstantial/folk bilinguals* since learning Greek is a matter of necessity in order to survive in the receiving country where L2 replaces L1.

### **6.1.1. The issue of the participants' L1.**

In order to investigate the topic of language use and phenomena such as maintenance and shift, the issue of the participants' first language also had to be clarified; a controversial term depending on the criteria it may rely upon (Romaine, 1995). Thus, according to Myers-Scotton a person's first language can be defined as the language that the individual "acquired first as a child" (Myers-Scotton, 2009: 2) assuming that he started his speaking as monolingual. The concepts of *native language* and *first language* are not easy to define in a multilingual context; a person may have more than one first language because an L1 may change over time. Thus, someone may learn a language in childhood but growing up in a context where this language is not spoken then it is no longer useful and may be forgotten or exist as a "childhood experience" (Davies, 2003: 17). Claims about having a first language in such cases may be a strategy of self-identification according to Davies. Garcia (2009) remarks that for many speakers within minoritized groups the concept of *mother tongue* refers to the language of ancestors; so, it may not even be the home language. The author also points out that considering the linguistic practices of immigrants, it is not easy to identify an individual's first language; "instead, competence in a language, the function for which it is used, and the identification with that language either by oneself or by others shifts and changes" (Garcia, 2009:1909-1910). What is important to investigate is which language group the participants choose to identify with, including the imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) created by language as they negotiate their identity through it. Also, as Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1989) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1981,1988) remark, the application of the term *mother tongue* implies bias and prejudice when used to refer to linguistically minoritized groups as it carries symbolic and evaluative connotations.

Some participants referred to Albanian as "*mother tongue*" and "*the proper language*". G1 distinguished between "we" and "they" referring to speakers of Greek and Albanian respectively. What do the participants mean with such references to Albanian? Is it the language they learned before any other, acquired automatically from birth? Is it their parents' language? Such definitions can be misleading as in a multilingual context they may have learned Albanian first but then they grew up in a Greek speaking environment and became more proficient in Greek. For instance, A1 is not exactly sure about the first language: "*I want to learn my mother tongue.*" "*My parents erm... erm... I speak Greek er... Albanian, er... Albanian with my parents.*" "*At home I speak Albanian with mum and dad and Greek and*

*Greek I speak Albanian with mum and dad, Greek I speak with my sisters.*" A2 seems uncertain about the family language: *"My parents address me in Albanian erm... My parents address me in Greek. Most of the time at home I speak Alb... erm Greek, Greek."* G4 is also uncertain about the first language: *"We speak both Greek and Albanian er... that's all."* *"Mostly... there is no such thing because... I mean... we also speak Greek of course."* "My parents speak mostly Albanian but my parents to me and my sister they speak Greek." But can G4 speak one language better than the other? "Both of them because... I have both... but the best... er best ... neither of them." And then adds: "The same." "If you asked me now which one I want I can't say because I know them both...because there is where I come from and here is where I was born and I have made more friends here." But how do the participants describe their competence in Albanian? According to G1: *"In Albanian they have more words than us...I can't even speak it"...* *"As for Albanian I have forgotten some."* Participant A1: *"I understand if they don't speak in long and difficult words."* *"I make some mistakes in long words...I confuse the letters."* Participant G2: *"I'm ashamed. I don't know it well that's why."* *"I don't understand them when someone speaks."* Participant G4: *"I don't know it (Albanian) either because some words mum and dad use I don't know them very well... I'm in ignorance of them."* *"The words are a little difficult er... I can't say them very well ...when I don't use them very much."* Participant G3: *"It's hard to speak it because some words are difficult."* Participant G5: "When grandma visited I understood some the simplest." Participant G7: *"I can't avoid it...because mum and dad use it all the time."* *"I don't want to speak it because I don't like it because to me it's difficult."* Participant G8: *"There are some words that I don't know well...when I speak al I make some mistakes...when someone speaks al I don't understand very well but if they say it right I understand."*

For the purposes of this research, I had decided from the onset to consider the language of the country of origin, Albanian, as L1 and as L2 the language of the host country, Greek. This distinction carried its own limitations as the research proceeded. For the Late Bilinguals (LB) group of participants Albanian was considered as their L1 and Greek as L2. However, the issue becomes more obscure as far as it concerns the Early Bilinguals (EB) group who came to Greece at infancy, at a pre-school age or were born in Greece. It was not easy to verify whether these children first spoke Albanian or Greek or both. However, considering the participants' responses to the interview questions in total (Appendix 11), I have been able to elicit information that elucidates the issue of what has been traditionally labelled as *first language*, resulting to questioning the validity of the concept in a migration context as I will explain below (Garcia, 2009; Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011).

According to the responses of the participants in the EB group (Appendix 8, Table 5) the prevalence of Greek over Albanian in the home domain is clear. More specifically, for participants G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, G6 and G7 it is evident that Greek is used mostly when they communicate with their family, despite the fact that the parents use both languages and grandparents use Albanian when they visit. These participants use Greek when they communicate with their siblings and, although they claimed that they use both languages when they communicate with their parents, it was eventually revealed that they use Greek mostly (G1, G2, G3, G5, G7, G8). Participant G2 stated that she and her parents speak Greek at home so that her little brother can learn Greek too. As for G4 her parents address her and her sister in Greek, and although she may speak Albanian sometimes when she plays with her sister, the language she uses the most is Greek. Participant G6 can only speak Greek. Participant G1 identifies himself as “Greek”, using the distinctions “we” and “they” to describe his attitude towards the two languages.

Similar results were collected in the LB group (Table 4). Both languages may be used at home by the parents but Greek is the language of communication among siblings. This is in concordance with literature findings on the different patterns of communication within the same family and the differences between generations that I have presented in Chapter 4 (Hatzidaki, 2005; Bettoni, 1981; Yagmur, 1997; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Clyne, 2003; Romaine, 2010). More specifically, participant A2 stated that despite the fact that his parents use Albanian to communicate with each other, the language that is spoken at home mostly is Greek. This is the language he uses with his father and sister, but his mother knows very little Greek so he uses Albanian with her. Participant A3 can speak both Albanian and Greek, but she uses Greek when she talks to her parents, siblings and friends, despite the fact that her parents address her in Albanian. A4 speaks both languages at home; her father speaks Albanian mainly but her mother speaks Greek. Finally, A1 stated that her parents communicate with each other in Albanian and they address her in Albanian as well *“because they don’t know much Greek. Only the most important (words)”*.

These participants are examples of the translanguaging approach (Garcia, 2009; Garcia and Wei, 2014) in the way they communicate with other family members; the mode of communication includes both languages extending beyond code-switching and depending on the speakers, their different degrees of abilities and in some cases the topic of the conversation. These findings are clearly examples of how controversial the notion of *first language* is and how careful the researcher should be before he makes any extensive statements about the modern migrants’ languages. In conclusion, it cannot be taken for granted that the participants’ L1 is Albanian, in other words the parents’ language or the



language of the country of origin. The example of these research participants can be considered as evidence for the need to reconsider through revised approaches the conceptualization of the category of “migrant” and notions such as language, language speaker and competence due to super-diversity caused by globalization after the demographic and social changes that have led societies from multiculturalism to superdiversity (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011).

#### **6.1.2. Language use at home: The importance of the interlocutor.**

Data based on the participants’ interviews indicated a difference between the first and second generation within the same family when it comes to language use. In particular, the questions about the participants’ communication with other members of the same immigrant group, not only restricting the questions to the home domain but also to the grandparents’ house or with other relatives and in gatherings of Albanian immigrant children, showed that Albanian is used in the communication with the parents and grandparents only, whereas siblings prefer to communicate with each other and with their Albanian immigrant friends in Greek.

The need to maintain Albanian as the only way to communicate with at least one of the parents emerged as one of the reasons for maintenance of Albanian for the participants A1 and A2. As Tables 6 and 7 illustrate (Appendix 8), for the participants of this research the following patterns of family discourse were identified based on the participants’ perceptions:

1. Parents of participants in the LB group speak Albanian to each other.
2. Parents of participants in the LB group (apart from the situation of A2 and A4 to whom one of the parents speaks Greek) speak Albanian to their children.
3. The participants in the LB group speak Greek to the parents if the parents can also speak it.
4. Parents of participants in the EB group speak both languages when addressing their children (G1, G3), Albanian mainly (G7, G8), or Greek mainly (G2, G4, G5, G6).
5. The participants in the EB group speak Greek only/mainly (G2, G3, G4, G5, G6) both languages (G1) and Albanian only (G7) to the parents.
6. The research participants claimed that they communicate with siblings in Greek only/mainly (11), Albanian mostly (1), or did not answer (1).
7. The participants claimed that they communicate with their Albanian immigrant friends in Greek only/mainly.
8. At school all the participants claimed that they use Greek only/mainly.

9. The preference for the use of Greek at home was initiated by the parents for participants G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, G6 and A2.

10. According to some participants' beliefs, their parents would prefer them to use Albanian (4), Greek (3), or have no problem whichever language they use (6).

Evidence for the dominance of Greek as the medium of communication among young immigrant Albanians is clear in participant's A1 comment when she stated that she wants to speak Albanian with her family because she can only practice it at home whereas Greek is used everywhere else.

Communication with the grandparents can easily be identified as a factor of language maintenance since older people lack proficiency in Greek. Conversely, children may use Albanian with their grandparents and even with their parents, but communicate with each other mainly in Greek, as I have shown above. Actually, grandparents have a significant social role in the Albanian immigrant family; they follow their children to the receiving country in order to look after their grandchildren "conveying Albanian culture and the language to the youngest generation living abroad" (King and Mai, 2008:223).

Whereas it is safe to conclude from the participants' responses that these second generation immigrant children use Albanian to communicate with the first generation, in all their other interactions the medium of communication is Greek. This is evidence of how age and generation constitute important factors in language use, maintenance or shift and how children can be considered as significant agents of such sociolinguistic phenomena. As I have shown in Chapter 4, the relevant literature (Wong-Fillmore, 1991) suggests that the fact that these research participants are immersed in Greek at a very young age is detrimental to the maintenance of Albanian; especially since this language is not supported by the educational system or the immigrant community. Furthermore, literature conclusions (Romaine, 2010) indicate that differences in language use in the same family may occur. The children use L2 even when the older generation may retain L1. This is what happens with the majority of the research participants who use Greek despite the fact that parents and grandparents retain Albanian.

So far I have been able to identify the patterns of communication within the family (Romaine, 1995; De Houwer, 2009b). Drawing upon the framework provided by Romaine and De Houwer, the research participants fit in Romaine's Type 3 (both parents have the same L1, Albanian and speak it to the child) and Type 6 (the parents are bilingual and speak both languages to the child) resulting in sequential bilingualism, as Lanza (2007) suggests. In De Houwer's framework, the participants' patterns of communication within the family fit in the

1P/2L type (with parents using both languages to address them) and the 1P/1L & 1P/2L type (with one parent using both Greek and Albanian to address them). These two patterns are supposed to lead to active bilingualism according to the author. However, in this case frequency of input in Greek is much more extensive than Albanian and the two languages are not evenly developing. My data also indicate that there are other aspects of family bilingualism that reveal the parents' strategies and ideologies that affect the participants' language use. Further information about these aspects is presented in the following sub-chapters.

### **6.1.3. The issue of non-transmission/acquisition of Albanian.**

In the majority of the students' responses to the questions regarding the language they use the most in the home domain Albanian emerged as their first choice, but careful analysis of the questions that followed about competence, literacy, the number of interlocutors in this language and the frequency of its use, indicated that the participants had difficulties communicating in Albanian and that they use Greek with anyone else apart from their parents or grandparents with whom communication appears to be fragmented. This discrepancy could be explained as a strategy of the child's identity construction (Cummins 2001, 2005; Doran, 2004; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). During the interviews the participants initially declared that they used Albanian mainly/only in their everyday interaction but reality is far more complex as research literature on analysis of linguistic perceptions has shown (Bailey, 2000b; Tannenbaum and Howie, 2002; Pavlenko, 2006; Hoare, 2000; Martin and Stuart - Smith, 1998). As the interviews proceeded it was revealed that they intended to indicate maintenance of Albanian within a framework of symbolic use, such as pride for their origin, solidarity to their family, or even reaction to the native population's xenophobia. This reveals their own attitude towards Albanian, considering the fact that they have not been treated with discrimination in the host country according to the interviews.

Data from the recordings of the participants' interaction (Appendix 9) -the analysis of which will constitute the second subchapter of Data Analysis- confirmed the use of Greek as the main language of communication among these immigrant Albanian students. Whether these indications of language shift into Greek for these young immigrants are affected by the context the research took place, is a matter of discussion. In addition, according to Anderson (2012), the acquisition of L1 is pre-supposed in order to study the phenomenon of language shift, according to which the child exhibits a reduction in the linguistic skills compared to his skills at a previous time. In the case of the EB, however, data showed lack of transmission of

Albanian from the parents to the second generation; yet, in Clyne's (2003) view, language shift can also be manifested through lack of L1 transmission.

As Table 6 shows (Appendix 8), in the cases of the LB group, it appears that language transmission is also problematic according to the following observations regarding the issues relevant to the participants' patterns of language use: participants A3 and A2 believe that their parents want them to speak Albanian. In participant's A2 words it is clear that the possibility of returning to Albania constitutes a motive for language maintenance: *"Yes, they want me to speak Greek so that I learn it better...they say when I go back to Albania I speak Albanian"*. A1 also feels that her parents want her to learn Albanian in case they decide to go back someday. On the other hand, A4 does not think that her parents want her to speak Albanian more than Greek, whereas A5 believes that his parents have no problem with the language he speaks, although he prefers using Greek.

The possibility of non-acquisition of Albanian remains a reality for some of the participants who were born in Greece or came to Greece in infancy, the EB group. More specifically, in the case of G6 non-acquisition of Albanian is a fact whereas acquisition and/or transmission of this language have been obviously problematic for the rest of the participants of this group. Therefore, I have been able to collect the information illustrated in Appendix 8, Table 7, regarding the patterns of language use for the participants in the EB group. A detailed investigation of this information reveals the problems in the transmission of Albanian for these participants. As G1 stated, his parents have many Greek friends so they use Greek a lot with them as well as with their relatives. G2 thinks that her family wants her to speak Greek mostly. G3 admits that her parents use Greek mostly, although she may use Albanian at home *"when there is a problem"*, such as a family issue; another example of the translanguaging approach (Garcia, 2009; Garcia and Wei, 2014). She believes her parents want her to learn Albanian more than Greek *"because it is my country"*; still they use Greek mostly. Changing her claims in the beginning of the interview, she states that she speaks Greek a lot when she visits her relatives in Albania and that she feels a little distanced from them. G4 stated that her parents allow her to speak the language she prefers, although she is not sure which one she prefers. For participant G8 Greek is the only language he can speak. His parents also use Greek when they talk to each other but *"when grandma comes from Albania she speaks Albanian with dad"*. Therefore, he does not think his parents want him to speak Albanian. G7 thinks that his parents want him to speak Albanian because, according to them, it is not so hard to learn. Still, he can not really speak Albanian as he finds it very difficult.

Considering the issue of L1 transmission to the second generation of young Albanian immigrants, the issue that remains to be researched deeper in the future is *what* is transmitted and *how*. In addition, at this point it is important to remind that in some cases preference for using Greek is initiated by parents (Table 7). In any case, my data reveal the parents' ideologies and the strategies that determine the patterns of communication within the family. The importance of Greek as the language of social mobility is what motivates the parents to encourage, or at least not to hinder, its use by the children (Gogonas, 2009). Such perceptions were also evident in the participants' interviews. However, the need to maintain the links with the country of origin, language being a significant part of this process, is prevalent in most cases. These perceptions are relevant to literature findings about language status and about features of globalization such as the ease of travel. As I have shown in Chapter 4, according to the relevant literature (De Houwer, 2009b) parental ideologies are significant as far as it concerns determining whether the child will actively speak the two languages. The participants' parents' attitude towards Albanian has an impact on the formation of the patterns of communication within the family and on the participants' language choices. But such ideologies are also significant because the loss or the lack of literacy in the home language can be detrimental to the child's development (Clyne, 2003; Riches and Genesee, 2006; Paradis et al., 2011; Garcia, 2009; Cummins 2000; Banks, 2001). It is also a characteristic of language shift as it "leads to low self-esteem and estimation of the language, and decreases its market value. It also denies access to information in the community language" (Clyne, 2003:47).

#### **6.1.4. The issue of language proficiency.**

During the interview, the participants were asked to self-assess their proficiency in both languages, assigning themselves a mark from one to ten. Through this self-report of competence level I intended to collect their own perceptions of competence; as the interviews proceeded I was able to compare these initial perceptions/claims with more detailed information on competence with questions about each skill separately and find out the correlations/differences between perceptions and reality. The analysis of the participants' responses showed that it was a question of limited validity for various reasons; some of the participants were not used to mark-assessment, especially younger participants who are used to being assessed at school with letters (A to C). It was found that the participants considered their proficiency in Albanian as just their level of speaking skills and their communicative competence. Data also revealed lack of confidence in the use of Albanian, something that the majority of the participants expressed clearly.

Starting from the LB group (Appendix 8, Table 8), only A2 does not make mistakes when he uses Albanian. This student has come to Greece more recently than the others in his group. However, while he can also read Albanian, he cannot write it and he prefers to use Greek with his friends, while he also claims that he uses Greek to communicate with his father. A1 makes mistakes when she speaks Albanian. She makes mistakes in long words and confuses the letters of the alphabet when she writes. As the interview proceeded she said that she cannot write anything in Albanian except for names. However, she understands others very well when they speak it as long as they do not use too long or difficult words that she does not know. She can read shop signs but that is all she can do with reading because reading Albanian is hard; she has only recently started learning to read and write. A3 evaluates her knowledge of Greek with nine out of ten and in Albanian with seven or eight. Nevertheless, she makes mistakes when she speaks Albanian and she does not understand everything when she listens to others speaking it. As for writing, she can not write Albanian at all but she can read a little. What she finds difficult in Albanian is *“speaking too much”*, reading and writing. A4 believes that she is much better at Greek than Albanian: *“As for Albanian, I have, I have forgotten something, some words from Albania”*. She does not understand Albanian very well and she makes mistakes when she speaks it. In fact, she cannot read it at all or write it. *“I find it hard to... write in Albanian. I find it hard to read and write”*. She evaluates herself with ten out of ten at Greek and eight at Albanian. She prefers using Albanian when she visits her country of origin because *“my other friends who come from Albania, my cousins and my friends can’t speak Greek”*. A5 initially stated that he is better at Albanian than Greek: *“I have learned to speak Albanian better”*. Then he stated that he is equally good in both languages. Answering to the questions that followed, he said that he makes mistakes when he speaks Albanian. Moreover, he cannot read or write anything in Albanian, only in Greek.

As for the EB group (Appendix 8, Table 9), in the cases of G1, G2, G6 and G7 lack of confidence in Albanian could be considered as a significant factor of shifting into Greek. More specifically, participant G1 evaluates himself with seven or six out of ten in Greek because he *“doesn’t know it well”* and in Albanian with two because he cannot really speak it. *“I evaluate myself in Greek erm... seven to ... seven to six because I don’t know it so well but in Albanian I evaluate myself with two because in Al... Albanian I can’t speak at all.”* Noting the discrepancy with his previous answers the interviewer asked him why he claimed that he speaks Albanian at school. *“Err, I don’t say difficult words. So there, when I speak Albanian I say easy words the... and when I speak Albanian I say the easiest words in Albanian... Err, I understand a little when I speak Albanian, err, and I don’t understand it so much”*. He makes mistakes, he cannot explain to his friends in Albania what he means and

he cannot write anything in Albanian because he has learned Greek only. *"I came to Greece when I was one year old and went straight to school"*. He cannot read Albanian at all. Reading in Albanian is very hard for him as well as writing. *"I have difficulties mostly in reading Albanian, writing and speaking because I haven't learned it yet and when I may go back to Albania I may have difficulties there."* He visits Albania every summer but he has a lot of difficulties with language when he speaks to his friends and relatives there. G2 uses Greek at school because others will not understand her otherwise and also because she is embarrassed to speak Albanian since: *"yes, nobody will understand me ...and I'm ashamed ... I'm ashamed sometimes, I don't know Albanian so well, that's why"*. She assesses her knowledge in Greek as "very good" but in Albanian as low as one out of ten. She cannot read Albanian and generally she makes mistakes, *"too many mistakes"* are her own words. She does not understand others at all when they speak Albanian and she cannot read or write it either. She has visited Albania only once when she was very little and she feels isolated from her relatives because they do not understand her. G3 evaluates herself with "Excellent" at Greek and with nine out of ten in Albanian. She believes that she is equally good in both languages. Still, she can not read Albanian. She does not make mistakes when she speaks Albanian *"because I have got used to it as I speak both Greek and Albanian"*. However, she does not know the *"difficult words"* and what she finds the most difficult about this language is speaking. Finally, she speaks Greek a lot when she visits her relatives in Albania but she feels a little distanced from them because of that. G4 evaluates her knowledge in Greek as neither *excellent* nor *very good* because there are words she still does not know but she has the same problem in Albanian. She thinks her level of knowledge is the same in both languages. None of the four skills is too hard for her regarding Albanian, as she claims. She does not make mistakes when she speaks Albanian, but there are words which are hard and she does not use them very often. She cannot read in Albanian because *"the words are a little difficult err... I can't say them very well... When I don't use them very much"*. However, she can write a text of two-three lines. G5 claims that she does not make mistakes when she speaks Albanian and she can understand others very well when they speak it. Still, she cannot read or write Albanian. She watches Greek TV only because she understands Greek programmes better than Albanian. For participant G6 the issue of language is not a matter of choice as Greek is the only language he can speak. G7 is better at Greek than Albanian as he makes mistakes when he speaks it. Nevertheless, he can understand some of it when others speak Albanian although he cannot read it or write it as he finds it a very difficult language to learn. He states that when he goes to Albania he speaks Albanian, but when the interviewer points out his previous answer that he cannot speak Albanian he says *"Yes, I don't know it but I will learn"*. He feels distanced from his relatives in Albania because of the language. In addition, he watches only Greek programmes on TV. G8 evaluates himself with

seven out of ten in Greek and four out of ten in Albanian. As he says, he makes mistakes when he speaks Albanian and he does not understand others very well when they speak it either. Moreover, he cannot write anything in Albanian but he can read shop signs.

In one of the questions I asked whether the participants would prefer to be taught school subjects by a teacher who could speak both Albanian and Greek. The participants associated this question to their level of competence in Albanian, revealing important information. Therefore, from the participants in the LB group, A1 and A4 stated that they would prefer their teacher to speak Albanian for the following reasons:

- a. in order to learn words they don't know in Albanian (A1)
- b. because that would help some children who can not speak Albanian (A4)

The rest of the participants in this group were not in favour of having an Albanian-speaking teacher. More specifically, participant A2 -the most proficient of all in Albanian as he is the one to have arrived in Greece more recently than the others- would not like his teacher to speak Albanian, whereas on second thought he added that it might be useful to have his teacher explain some words he does not know in Greek. Participant A5 would not like his teacher to speak Albanian because he likes Greek more. Moreover, participant A3 would not like her teacher to speak Albanian because she would not understand her. This statement, however, was inconsistent with how she had self-rated her proficiency in Albanian. In addition, she stated that she makes mistakes when she speaks Albanian and she does not understand everything when others speak it, whereas she responds to her parents in Greek. Considering all these, I was able to reach the conclusion that her self-rating was either arbitrary, and therefore inconclusive, or of symbolic function; the latter bearing its own significance on the issue of identity (Martin and Stuart - Smith, 1998; Tannenbaum and Howie, 2002; Pavlenko, 2006; Hoare, 2000).

As far as it concerns the participants in the EB group the following results were obtained: participant G3 would like to have an Albanian speaking teacher but did not offer a justification, whereas G4 did not answer the question. Participants G1, G2, G7 and G8 would not like to have an Albanian speaking teacher because they would not be able to understand her. In addition, G5 would not like to have an Albanian speaking teacher because she understands Greek better and G6 because he cannot speak any Albanian.

In conclusion, what the participants expressed with these answers is their lack of adequate competence so as to use Albanian at the same level they use Greek and, what is more significant, no real interest in developing this competence. It appears that in the case of



these research participants' language use is relevant to proficiency and competence in both languages. The low levels of competence in Albanian, ranging from minimal to recognizing (Blommaert and Backus, 2011), promote the shift into Greek and discourage the maintenance of Albanian; a language that is neither supported by the educational system nor effectively transmitted by the parents or the immigrant community.

The issue of proficiency in Albanian and in Greek was in some cases related to switching from Greek to Albanian. According to Clyne (2003), the indexical function of code-switching may indicate "otherness" and group membership, its use often being metaphorical intending to express the speaker's identity and juxtaposition of his different linguistic identities, or even emerge in the speaker's repertoire after "trigger" words and phrases. The incidents of code-switching occurrence in the participants' communication with other group members will be analysed in detail in the following subchapter where the recordings of oral data will be studied. As far as it concerns the interviews and linguistic biographies, some of the participants stated how they may switch from Greek to Albanian according to the following reasons:

1. Semantic, in cases when they want to say a word that is difficult in Greek/ do not know the Greek equivalent or when they want to say something faster (A1, A2, G4 and G8).
2. In-group communication, in cases when they do not want mainstream students to understand what they are saying (G1).
3. Situational or whenever they feel like it (A3).

#### **6.1.5. Group concentration**

When this research started, the number of Albanian immigrant students at the primary school investigated constituted a percentage of 23, 5%. More specifically, in the classes the participants attended, the Albanian immigrant students constituted approximately one third of the total number of students. However, it can be concluded by the participants' responses to the interview questions that the maintenance of Albanian is not positively affected by the numerical strength of the immigrant student population within the context of this specific Greek Primary school. Greek is the language of communication between the members of this particular group even when the teachers or other mainstream students are not present, as the participants stated in the interview responses. This was also evident in the recordings of informal interaction among the participants, as it will be illustrated in subchapter 6.2.

#### **6.1.6. Geographical proximity and ease of travel.**

Geographical proximity has contributed to the maintenance of L1 as some of the participants often visit Albania with their families. Travelling no longer requires weeks of walking or illegally crossing the borders between the two adjacent countries, at least for those families that have been regularized and own the necessary documents. For instance, A1 feels that her parents want her to learn Albanian in case they decide to go back some day. Despite the fact that A2 prefers speaking Greek because he wants to learn it better, he wants to speak Albanian when he is in Albania. A5, who visits Albania during his summer holidays, uses only Albanian when he is there. G1 visits Albania in summer and he has friends and relatives there but he has difficulties speaking to them in Albanian. However, he does not really care about it because he has many friends and relatives in Greece: *“most of them are here”*. G7 stated that when he goes to Albania he speaks Albanian although he has admitted that he cannot speak any Albanian at all. He believes that he needs Albanian when he visits Albania during the summer holidays. G8 visits Albania every summer and when he is there he uses Albanian only, although he makes mistakes when he speaks it and he does not understand others very well when they speak it either.

Therefore, the need to maintain Albanian in case of returning to Albania in the future or visiting it during the summer holidays has been identified as one of the factors of motivation for the maintenance of Albanian for five out of the thirteen participants (A1, A2, G2, G7, G8) according to their responses. This, however, does not mean that all these participants declared higher levels of competence than the rest, as Table 8 shows.

#### **6.1.6. The Latin alphabet**

Some of the participants (A3, G4, G8) stated that their developing knowledge of English as a foreign language, which is a mandatory subject in Greek primary schools has enhanced their learning in Albanian regarding their writing and/or reading skills. This assumption is mostly based on the Latin alphabet which Albanian and English share. For instance, if G4 had not started English lessons, she would not have been able to understand a word in Albanian. In addition, G8 thinks that learning English at school has helped him improve his knowledge of Albanian as Albanian also has a Latin alphabet. According to G2 on the other hand, Albanian remains a difficult language to read and write, although he has learned most of the letters in the Albanian alphabet as it is almost the same as the English. Therefore, these young immigrants are able to reflect on their knowledge of languages and on how these can interact collaboratively (Garcia and Wei, 2014) expressing a level of metalinguistic awareness.

#### 6.1.8. Peer pressure

The participants were asked about their feelings in regard to the reaction of their Greek classmates when the participants speak or might speak Albanian in their presence (Appendix 8, Tables 12, 13). The majority of the participants stated that their Greek classmates will make fun of them (A1,A3,A4,G1,G2,G3,G4,G5,G7) thus revealing their own perception of the attitude of mainstream society towards Albanian, a low status language because of the negative connotations it bears according to them, as I have described in Chapter 3.

A1 thinks that other students might make fun of her if she speaks Albanian, whereas A3 thinks that speaking Greek *“makes me more interesting.”* She is certain that there are a few children who make fun of her when they hear her speak Albanian. A4 believes that speaking Greek helps her make more friends and she is afraid others might make fun of her if she speaks Albanian. Also, she believes that other students respect her more if she speaks Greek.

G1 believes that he can have more friends if he speaks Greek because he does not have any friends coming from Albania anyway. His friends are all Greek and he believes that Greek has helped him make friends among his classmates. He thinks that some of his classmates will make fun of him when he speaks Albanian and this is something that makes him feel bad. G2 explains that she does not believe that she makes more friends speaking Greek and she does not feel different from her Greek classmates. Nevertheless, she feels that they will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian. G3 speaks Greek at school even when she talks to other Albanian students because *“this is the language everyone has to speak”*. Speaking Greek makes her feel she is not different from the other students and helps her make more friends. She is afraid others will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian and respect her more when she speaks Greek. G4 also believes that she must not use Albanian at school because it is a Greek school. She never uses Albanian with her Albanian friends when she is at school no matter the topic of the conversation. She believes that she has more friends if she speaks Greek and justifies that on the fact that not all children in her school are Albanians, most are Greek and they do not understand Albanian. So, speaking Greek she has more chances of making more friends. She does not think other children (Greek) will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian and she is certain that her friends have no problem with the Albanian language. G5 avoids speaking Albanian because she only wants to learn Greek and she thinks that she has more friends if she speaks it. Speaking Greek makes her feel no different from her Greek classmates. She does not think her friends will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian, because as she recalls nobody made fun of her when she spoke a little Albanian to her P.E. teacher once. G7 believes that speaking Greek

helps him make more friends and feel that he is no different from his Greek classmates. He also thinks that his classmates would make fun of him if he spoke Albanian, although it has never happened. G8 does not avoid using Albanian and he does not believe he will make more friends if he speaks Greek. In his eyes, he is no different from his Greek classmates. He does not believe his Greek classmates might make fun of him if he spoke Albanian.

Presumably, the use of Greek as a means of assimilation to the mainstream society is one of the factors that affect language choice for the participants. Nevertheless, this is not openly stated in the interviews as only the participants with the code names G5 and G6 said that they avoid speaking Albanian. The participants in the LB group responded that they speak only/mainly Greek with their Albanian immigrant friends, with two of them sometimes using Albanian (A1, who speaks Albanian when he does not know the Greek word, and A3, who speaks Albanian whenever he feels like it). The participants in the EB group stated that they use Greek only to communicate with their friends. Greek is the most preferable language for the participants; the use of Greek language has promoted the feeling of belonging and acceptance by their peers for the participants A1, A3, A4, A5, G1, G3, G4, G5, and G7.

Participants from both groups appear to be assimilated in the host society and accepted by their Greek peers. However, some of them express fear for a hypothetical attack by their Greek peers that discourages them from using Albanian in the school context. They all state that they use Greek at school and this makes perfect sense considering the monolingual character of the Greek school system; but the fact that Greek remains the language of communication with Albanian peers -as well as siblings- away from school indicates that the use of Greek may not be a matter of “coercion” but a choice. Their linguistic soundscapes (De Houwer, 2009b) develop according to their extensive exposure to Greek and the limited exposure to Albanian. Furthermore, stigmatized minorities like Albanian immigrants in Greece avoid using their language of origin according to the relevant literature I presented in Chapter 2.

#### **6.1.9. The role of the television**

Another finding of this research concerned the contribution of the Albanian satellite television to language maintenance since it emerged as a factor of language transmission for many of the research participants. Research literature has found that the availability of L1 media contact affects language use: “The ethnic context has significant effects on motivation through the upgrading of L1 skills: the availability of L1 media contact (for example, through the press or satellite television)... reinforce the usability of the native language” (Esser, 2006:30). On similar grounds, studying the maintenance of Spanish in the USA, Anderson

(2012) found that in the communities where people have access to Spanish through the media the loss of Spanish is reduced. Ammon also finds that “widely available media in migrants’ and immigrants’ own languages and from their country of descent like electronically transmitted newspapers, radio satellite TV and of course the World Wide Web have made it easier to maintain languages” (Ammon, 2010: 217). Clyne and Kipp (1999) who studied the mechanisms of language shift in immigrant communities in Australia found that television plays both a direct and an indirect role in language maintenance. The former refers to exposure to the language of origin and to the cultural context of that language. The latter refers to “the fact that the time spent watching television in the community language equates with less time available for exposure to the English language television” (Clyne and Kipp, 1999:103). As the authors remark, in their study a large majority of informants from all immigrant groups that were investigated stated that television programs in the language of origin promoted language maintenance. Elias (2013) points out that host language television also provides opportunities for second language learning for immigrant children adding that “for immigrant children who arrived in a new country at a very young age, native language television broadcasts were found to be effective in improving mother tongue proficiency” (Elias, 2013:338). Cruickshank, who studied literacy practices in Arabic and English of Arabic immigrant families in Australia as well as teenagers’ experiences of literacy in the local schools concludes that “developments in Arabic-language media also brought about changes in the teenagers’ literacy practices” (Cruickshank, 2004:467). Among other forms of the media, the introduction of Arabic satellite TV increased the teenagers’ knowledge and vocabulary of Arabic.

Participants from both groups stated that they watch educational children’s programmes on TV and this has contributed to the development of reading and writing skills (A1, A2, G1, G2, G3). More specifically, for some of the participants from the LB group TV is related to language learning. As A3 stated, she watches both Albanian and Greek programmes because she wants to learn both languages: “I watch both Greek and Albanian TV ... I watch Albanian because I want to learn both Greek and Albanian ... because I want to learn it”. A2 also watches both Greek and Albanian TV programmes because it helps him “*remember the languages I learn*” as he explains. A1 watches both Albanian and Greek TV programmes because she wants to learn new words. Some of the participants from the EB group stated that TV has helped them learn Albanian. For instance, G1 thinks that he has learned both languages with the help of his parents and the television. As he stated in his interview, watching children’s programmes on Albanian TV has helped him learn Albanian better. In fact, as he explains, he started learning Albanian when he started watching children programmes on TV. G3 has also learned Albanian with the help of the TV. “*I have learned*

*Albanian from...from the TV...*” She believes that watching educational Albanian programs through satellite TV has helped her learn the language better -especially as far as it concerns writing- with the help of Albanian subtitles. *“I have learned Albanian from ... from the TV.... A composition, I can write it because I have learned it from the TV”*. G2 has learned Greek from her family and from the TV programmes she watches. She watches Albanian TV so that she can use this language in case her family goes back to Albania in the future: *“because I want to know something when I go to Albania”*. She thinks she will learn Albanian better by watching TV programmes because this method has helped her with learning Greek.

Results regarding the significance of Albanian television programmes for these participants also reveal their competence in Albanian. Therefore, G6 watches only Greek programmes because she just can not understand Albanian, whereas G8 watches only Greek programmes because *“there are no good programmes on Albanian channels”*. G5 watches Greek TV only because she understands Greek programmes better than Albanian and G7 because he is better at Greek than Albanian.

It appears that television, a significant feature of globalization, contributes to maintaining contact with the culture of the sending country and provides assistance to the participants in order to learn both languages, that of the receiving and the sending country. In the present study, satellite television appears to have played a significant role regarding the maintenance or transmission of Albanian language for these young Albanian immigrants. As one of “children’s out-of school literacies” (Lytra, 2014:264), television appears to be the only way to learn Albanian for many of the participants in the EB group, especially in reference to developing their writing and reading skills.

#### **6.1.10. Discussion.**

The collection of data through the approach of the language biographies revealed that Greek is the dominant language for these young immigrants; the Albanian part in the bilingual repertoires of these children is fragmented even for the group of LB, with competence in Albanian varying from minimal to recognizing level (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). In the case of the EB, Albanian was not really acquired according to the collected data. These are the results of interplay among several factors: language status, age, psychological reasons, higher frequency of input in Greek, the need to be accepted by peers, lack of transmission of Albanian, lack of self confidence due to low level of competence and parental attitudes towards Albanian. These findings are congruent with previous research on the reasons for the decline of a language (Gogonas, 2009; Mai, 2005, Grosjean and Li, 2013; Romaine,

2010; Garcia, 2009; Hickey, 2010; Yamamoto, 2001). On the other hand, language use with the older generation (Clyne, 2003), the possibility of returning to Albania (Hatzidaki, 2005), the ease of transport (Blommaert, 2010) and access to Albanian media such as satellite TV (Ammon, 2010; Anderson, 2012) appear to promote the maintenance of Albanian. Nevertheless, my research found that Albanian is used only in the home context and only with the older generation in fragmented patterns of communication. It also revealed a discrepancy between the participants' overall perceptions with regard to their use of Albanian and what was found to be really happening, with questions that elicited information about each skill separately. I can explain this discrepancy as the participants' method to negotiate identity through language (Cummins 2001, 2005; Doran, 2004; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). The participants meant to express solidarity in their family and to the cultural/linguistic group because "language, as constructed, is not only a simple identity marker, but is capable of generating imagined communities and of constructing particular loyalties" (Garcia, 2009: 2579-2580).

## **6.2. Analysis of the participants' recorded interaction**

### **Introduction**

In total, approximately twenty hours of informal interaction were recorded during which only twenty-five instances of code change occurred in the form of intersentential code-switching from Greek to Albanian (Appendix 8, Table 12). Generally, the language of interaction among these second generation young Albanian immigrants was Greek in spite of the fact that no other mainstream student was present and no teacher was within a hearing distance. As far as gender differences are concerned, boys switched more times than girls did. As Table 16 shows, three out of the six males switched fifteen times in total. Also, four out of the seven females switched ten times in total. An equal number in both groups (three) never switched.

The school context imposed specific limitations that had to be considered in the analysis process. These limitations are not only based on the fact that the school setting affects the way children interact with adults and, consequently, the collection of research data (Noble-Carr, 2006; Shaw et al., 2011) if appropriate measures are not taken (see Chapter 5). Limitations for my research also stem from the assimilative, ethnocentric and monolingual character of the Greek school (see Chapter 3) and its impact on the research setting. Therefore, I had to consider the extent at which this research setting dominated and controlled by Greek monolinguals, renders the use of Albanian a marked choice in the participants' linguistic perceptions. Eventually, the questions I tried to answer were these: to

what extent is the use of Greek at school a matter of choice or “coercion” for these participants? Do the same perceptions apply to other contexts as well? I will return to these questions at the end of this sub-chapter.

Although these twenty-five instances of change of code from Greek to Albanian constituted only a minuscule part of the overall communication, it was important to analyse them in order to find out how and why the participants used Albanian with their Albanian peers. Data discussed above revealed that, according to the participants’ perceptions, they use Greek only /mainly with their Albanian peers; therefore, the functions and motivations for these switches had to be investigated in comparison with the participants’ perceptions. These switches were transcribed and analyzed in order to form some conclusions on how the participants selected the language of communication. As it happens with informal interaction, there was frequent disruption of the turn-taking rules, overlaps and background noise that often made identification of every speaker difficult. The transcribed extracts that refer to the change of code, however, have been identified as well as the speakers who produce them and those who react to them.

Out of the thirteen participants involved in the interaction only six switched from Greek to Albanian. One particular participant (A2) switched repeatedly, others only once or twice and others never changed the code of communication (Appendix 8, Table 12). The reasons for these switches, their functions and the conditions upon which they were carried out were investigated as well as their relationship with the participants’ linguistic background, as this was revealed in their linguistic biographies. Theories on the social role of code-switching and relevant literature on the subject were applied in order to form a framework for analysis.

The central issue addressed in the analysis of switches is the deliberate employment of switches by the participants as a strategy to highlight their identity; the majority of the switches can be characterized as deliberate since they took place at moments when the participants seemed to be aware of the recorder’s presence. Normally, such data would be of insignificant value to the research. However, they bear significance for this specific study because the rationale for the use of Albanian in those cases was in fact a declaration of ethnic identity and ethnic/linguistic group membership. This assumption of deliberately switching to Albanian was also supported by participant’s A2 response during the interview when he stated that *“When you ask us ... We speak Albanian... Because we want to show that we know Albanian ... For the research you are doing”* (Appendix 10). As it is illustrated in the extracts that follow (Appendix 9, extracts 1 and 2), in some cases the participants lowered their voice in an effort not to be heard, directly addressed the teacher-researcher by



talking closer to the recorder or asked others to behave when voices were raised and arguments took place, thus indicating the acknowledgment of the recorder's presence. Nevertheless, even after these switches, the rest of the interaction continued in Greek.

Oral data collected in the informal setting of the day-school classes revealed that the switches were employed during the games the participants played. They were submitted by specific participants and, as mentioned above, they were in their majority deliberate, carrying a metaphorical function: they reflected the participants' ethnic identity and functioned as a code in order to connect children with a common ethno-cultural identity. Nevertheless, as the activity the participants were engaged in evolved, they seemed to gradually forget the presence of the recorder. This assumption is based on the fact that the participants became agitated while playing or talking, expressing themselves in ways that appeared free of constraints, such as shouting and arguing. However inappropriately though they behaved away from the teacher's notice, they did not use a single word of Albanian during those moments when they probably were too carried away by the activity to deliberately change the code of communication.

What is important to include in this analysis is the social role of code-switching. Bailey notes that code-switching "is both a *language* contact phenomenon and a *social* contact phenomenon, and the occurrence, shape, distribution, and meanings of codeswitching vary across and within communities" (Bailey, 2000a:174). The author adds that in order to interpret code-switching, one should take into consideration the social roles, the domains and the social boundaries the group intends to maintain. However, the author notes how in-group switches are locally unmarked but not vacant of social meaning: "In situations of more stable bi-/multi-lingualism, codes and social identities are often more highly compartmentalized, individuals have fewer opportunities to develop multiple roles and relationships across social boundaries, and there are higher socio-political costs for crossing boundaries. In such situations, code switching tends to be less frequent, inter-turn or inter-sentential rather than intra-sentential and socially and linguistically marked" (Bailey, 2000a:175). According to the author, in such a context, the metaphorical and political/ideological nature of code switching is emphasized. This remark might be useful in order to explain the absence of more Albanian in the participants' speech than these few switches in the recorded interaction, or even the participants' reluctance to use it; they might consciously or subconsciously conform to the social boundaries set by society and by their ethnic group in order to avoid the socio/political risks such a linguistic choice would have them face.

The reasons behind the switches were investigated although it has not been easy to identify the specific functions of each switch since they are often found to carry out double, or even multiple, functions. As Bailey (2000a) notes, multiple functions may be fulfilled simultaneously by individual code-switches and Eldridge (1996) agrees that “the main problem in analysing code-switching in functional terms is that many switches may be either multi-functional, or open to different functional interpretations” (Eldridge, 1996:305). The concept of *conversational code-switching*, introduced by Gumperz (1982) highlights its multifunctional role which includes discourse management functions as well as metaphorical ones and their use as contextualization cues: “To say that code switching conveys information doesn’t mean that a switch can be assigned a single meaning” (Gumperz, 1982: 96). Similar assumptions were revealed in the analysis of the data for this study. The switches functioned as gap fillers, reiterations and translations that clarified the meaning as well as those with a poetic function “by means of jokes, puns and other word play, and conscious style and register shifts language is played with, so that the use of language becomes a goal and source of joy in itself” (Appel and Muysken, 2005:30). However, the conditions upon which they were submitted revealed a deliberate effort to indicate use of Albanian and thus tacitly declare ethnic identity and ethnic group membership. Nevertheless, for many of the participants, the use of Albanian proved to be a marked choice. Therefore, they were not either eager or able to follow up to their classmates’ switches. In addition, the meaning of many of the switches was disjointed, making it hard to translate and even giving the impression that the participants made use of any fragments of input available in order to sustain the impression of ability in the parents’ language.

### **6.2.1. Language choice and linguistic background**

A key point in the analysis of switches refers to the fact that LB group switched more times than the EB despite their smaller group size, as Tables 14 and 15 illustrate. From the five children in the LB group, only three switched fifteen times in total. From the eight children in the EB group only four switched, ten times in total. Participant A2 switched into Albanian ten times and participants A1, G1 and G3 follow with four switches. A3, G5 and G8 switched only once, while participants A4, A5, G2, G4, G6, and G7 never switched. Results are mixed in the sense that participants in both groups switched and also participants in both groups never switched.

Apart from the fact that Late Bilinguals switched more times than the Early Bilinguals, my data showed that the reasons for switching do not lie only on the basis of the distinction I have drawn between the two groups, i.e. the years of residence in the host country, although

this was a considerable condition in the case of participant A2. In order to investigate the reasons for the change of code during the informal interaction we need more information on the participants' linguistic background. This is why data from the participants' linguistic biographies provide crucial information for the investigation of language use.

In what follows, I will bring together the two methods of data collection of this study with the aim to respond to the question: Do the recorded classroom data verify the students' beliefs regarding their language choices and use? In order to do this, specific facts from the participants' linguistic background that have influenced the patterns of language use for each of them will be highlighted, starting from those who have illustrated more "complex" patterns of language use as these were captured in the recordings. Of course, the term "complex" in this case characterizes the occurrence of instances of codeswitching as this is the only pattern of the use of Albanian detected during the recordings.

#### **6.2.2. The group of Late Bilinguals (LB)**

In this sub-chapter I will go into detailed analysis of the participants based on data derived from their linguistic biographies. My aim is to obtain a full picture of their linguistic background, based on the individual speaker's role in the study of language contact situations (Matras, 2009) and the way linguistic biographies reflect their life trajectories and learning methods (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). In doing so, I will adopt Blommaert and Backus' view that "repertoires in a super-diverse world are records of mobility: of movement of people, language resources, social arenas, technologies of learning and learning environments" (Blommaert and Backus, 2011: 22). As a second level of analysis I will juxtapose these findings with data derived from recorded interaction to find out possible correlations and/or inconsistencies.

Starting with the LB group, the results are illustrated in Table 14 (Appendix 8): participant A2 is the one who switched the most among the participants. Going through his linguistic biography, as this was constructed from his answers in the semi-structured interview, his attitude regarding language use is further elucidated. A2 came to Greece at the age of 8 with his mother in order to join his father. He had already attended the first three primary years in Albania so he was enrolled in the 3<sup>rd</sup> class of Primary School in Greece. In fact, he had to repeat the 3<sup>rd</sup> class in Greece, which means he is a year older than his classmates. When he came to Greece, he also had to attend the language support classes that ran in parallel with the mainstream ones in order to learn Greek faster. He has learned Greek not only at school, but also from speaking with his friends. At home he speaks Greek mostly, as he uses

it to communicate with his father and sister, but his mother knows very little Greek so he speaks Albanian with her. When there are words he does not know in Greek he replaces them with Albanian ones. He watches Greek and Albanian TV programmes *“to remember the languages I learn”* as he explains. So far, A2 presents a child with adequate input in Albanian who has come to acquire a second language in a monolingual school context of the host country. His case is particularly interesting as it is my opinion that he has shown impressive progress in the Greek language. This conclusion is further supported by my personal experience during the first year of his arrival in Greece. When he was in the third grade, three years before this research started, he had great difficulties in speaking Greek and I had to use one of the other Albanian students as a translator in order to communicate with him. Nevertheless, A2 uses Greek during the recorded interaction, with some switches in Albanian that, as I will show below, are not exactly spontaneous. Some of them, if not all, are submitted when A2 is aware of the recorder’s presence. The question is how he selects Greek as the code of communication when it is certain that he has excellent speaking skills in Albanian. In order to answer this, it is important to go back to his interview answers and to his linguistic biography.

To the question about the language he uses at school he responds that he speaks Greek. *“I use Albanian with the kids who spoke before me ... I speak it only when you tell us to play... Because we want to show that we know Albanian... for the research”*. This explanation makes the interviewer think that this is a misunderstanding and that A2 is under the misconception that the researcher expects them to show their skills in Albanian. She explains that this is not the aim of the research, i.e. to have them speak Albanian on purpose. Eventually, A2 says *“But we speak Greek more... We always speak it. Greek”*. Whether his intentional use of Albanian is based on a misconception or not is an issue we will explore further in the analysis of the extracts. What is important to stress at this point is that the use of Greek at school, in his social circles and of course in the communication with his father and sister can be accounted for as the basic reasons for A2’s remarkable progress in this language and the reason he uses it the most in the recordings. Also, the prestige of Greek probably plays a role in this because his parents do not want him to speak Albanian in Greece: *“Yes, they want me to speak Greek so that I learn it better... they say when I go back to Albania” (I should speak Albanian)*. He does not think that he avoids speaking Albanian: *“I want to speak it because I like it more as a language”* he says. However, he speaks Greek with his friends who come from Albania. He does not think others will make fun of him if he speaks Albanian. As far as it concerns his level of competence in the two languages, he evaluates his competence in Greek as *“Good”* and in Albanian as *“Better”*. Furthermore, A2 is one of those participants who would not like their teacher to speak

Albanian; *“mostly, I don’t want her to speak (Albanian)”*. But why exactly he cannot say: *“Erm, ma’m I can’t explain it”*. Participant’s A2 choice of language regarding the use of Greek is not only a matter of personal choice but affected by the monolingual context, the support Greek receives in the home context and the intensive instruction he has received at school. His switches into Albanian are deliberate; their functions will be analyzed in detail in the following parts of this subchapter.

Participant A1 also uses Greek in the recorded interaction and switches four times to Albanian. She came to Greece at the critical age of three. She has acquired Albanian from her family and Greek from school. Her parents communicate with each other in Albanian and they address her in Albanian as well *“because they don’t know much Greek. Only the most important (words)”*. However, with her seventeen-year-old sister she communicates in Greek. Although her first response to the question about the language she uses at school is that she uses both Greek and Albanian, she then goes on to clarify that she uses Albanian with others who can speak it but, generally, she speaks Greek at school. This is probably based on her assumption that Greek helps her make more friends because she can communicate with them better. On the other hand, her choice of language at school may be affected by her belief that her Greek classmates may make fun of her in case she speaks Albanian in their presence. However, she does not believe that it is the use of Greek that makes her be like her Greek classmates; *“because I am a person like them and if I speak one more language it’s not something so tragic”*. She also adds that with her friends who come from Albania she uses Albanian when she wants to say a word that is difficult in Greek: *“...when they don’t know some long words in Greek I tell them (these words) in Albanian”*; in order to help her friends: *“when they don’t understand something the teacher says and I explain to them because I know and they don’t... and they don’t know... some sentences and I tell them”*; when she wants to obtain secrecy: *“when I want to speak about some things that I don’t want my friends to know, my other friends, and I want to share that with those who come from my homeland”*.

Details are important in order to decipher A1’s message. Her choice of the “strong” Greek phrase *i patritha mou* that means *homeland* is not random. This is better illustrated in her explanation about how she feels about Albanian. Albanian is a language she likes. Besides, Greek is the language she uses every day at school, whereas Albanian she only uses for a few hours at home. When she plays, she may use either language but -in contrast to what she had previously stated- she wants to use Albanian more because as she says: *“I want to learn it. In case I leave (for Albania)... I should not forget it”*. She also believes that she uses Albanian more than she uses Greek for the same reason: *“I speak Albanian more because I*

*want to learn it. If I go there, I mean, if I leave, I will go to school there*". But this is not the only reason why she wants to use Albanian; it is the language that connects her to her origin and her parents, in other words to her ethnic group to which she feels she really belongs: *"I speak Albanian so that I do not forget it and I like Albanian better than Greek... because, because it is my language and that is where I come from. Well, the language that my dad and mum use between them is Albanian... when they speak to me"*.

A1 is quite competent in Albanian as she understands others very well when they speak it as long as they do not use too long or difficult words that she does not know. In addition, she would like her teacher to speak Albanian because this would help her learn the words she does not know in her *"mother tongue"*, another strong phrase to reveal her solidarity to the ethnic group she belongs to. She also uses the phrase *"the proper language"* to refer to Albanian as the language her parents expect her to use in case she returns to Albania. All these statements make participant A1 the one with the strongest attitude towards the use of Albanian.

But how do these facts relate to her language use choices during the recordings? In Extract 1 (p.200), triggered by a previously exchange of switches that carry the function of exhibiting ethnic group identity, A1 invites the others to speak Albanian: *"Hey guys, let's speak a bit of Albanian"*. This suggestion is consistent with her response regarding the language she prefers speaking. The other participants do not agree, implying either that the use of Albanian is a marked choice in the specific place and time or that they are not able to use it. Her declaration of ethnic/linguistic group membership is also obvious in Extract 2 (p.200) when A1 becomes aggressive towards one of the participants who refused to join the others in their use of inappropriate language in Albanian, either because they really do not understand it or because they do not approve it. In Extract 5 (p.202) she uses Albanian to repeat a word that the previous speaker has used, declaring understanding and probably exhibiting again solidarity to her ethnic and linguistic group.

In Extract 9 (p.206) she sings a funny rhyme in Albanian with G1. It is a rhyme that contains inappropriate, swear words and according to the translator unintelligible at some points. As it will be illustrated in the analysis of the relevant extract, these patterns of switching function as poetic switches but may declare group membership as well. This assumption is also supported by what A1 adds after the participants stop laughing: *"I know more Albanian"* that reveals the deliberate effort to speak Albanian and, therefore, the deliberate effort to declare group membership and ethnic identity. What sounds unnatural here, however, is her statement about the fact that she knows *"more Albanian"* that does not appear to be what a

person who considers this language as a *first language* would say. In Extract 11 (p.206), she follows A2's switch to Albanian to introduce himself, starting a sentence that she leaves unfinished, changing the topic of her speech abruptly and switching back to Greek. It is a rather theatrical pattern of speech that she exhibits at this point which appears to serve the purpose of attempting to impress through her linguistic skills. What is important to point out in the analysis of participant's A1 use of Albanian is that her switches are not exactly spontaneous but intentional and following the same pattern as participant A2; a strategy aiming at exhibiting ethnic identity and solidarity to the ethnic/linguistic group she comes from.

Participant A3 switched only once from Greek to Albanian during the recordings. Studying her linguistic biography we find that she came to Greece in order to re-unite with her parents at the age of seven and that she has attended the Greek school from the 1<sup>st</sup> grade. She can speak both Albanian and Greek but she uses Greek when she talks to her parents, siblings and friends, despite the fact that her parents address her in Albanian. She may use Albanian, however, when she wants to talk about *"something serious, when I want something, for instance."* She thinks that her parents do not want her to use Greek more than Albanian. At first she states that at school she uses both languages to communicate with her friends who come from Albania, although later she says that she uses Greek mostly: *"for instance when I am at school, I use the Greek language at school with my friends, erm, and when they come from... to my friends who come from Albania I speak Albanian to them but mostly Greek. At school, erm, I rarely use Albanian"*. When she uses Albanian she does it *"for no special reason, whenever I feel like it."* She does not believe she makes more friends using Greek more than Albanian; for her it does not matter where someone comes from. However, she thinks that speaking Greek *"makes me more interesting."* She knows that there are a few children who make fun of her when they hear her speak Albanian. She evaluates her competence in Greek with nine out of ten and in Albanian with seven or eight. She makes mistakes when she speaks Albanian and she does not understand everything when she hears others speak it. As for writing, she can not write Albanian at all but she can read a little, maybe a short story. What she finds difficult in Albanian is *"speaking too much"*, reading and writing. She would not like her teacher to speak Albanian because she would not understand her. She does not visit Albania because her parents do not have all the required documents. She watches Albanian programmes on TV because this way she believes she can learn the language.

At this point it may be useful to check the recoded interaction in order to find which of the above may have triggered this participant's single switch into Albanian. Remaining loyal to her statement that she rarely uses Albanian at school, A3 uses Greek throughout the

recorded interaction, even when she expresses herself in a way that is free of school rules, shouting, arguing and having fun during the games in ways that exhibit ignorance of the fact that the interaction is being recorded. In Extract 4 (p.202), however, A3 switches into Albanian to express her disagreement and even annoyance during the game, complaining about how G3 does not have to shout at the others; an uncalled for complaint, because G3 did not in fact raise her voice that much to deserve such reprimand. In addition, the switch is not triggered by any of the preceding contributions to the conversation so far. The phrase *“she can hear you”* could be referring to the use of the recorder, *“her”* being the teacher/researcher, using Albanian as a “secret” language among them. This assumption, however, makes her choice of language an intentional one; selecting Albanian to complain and to warn her addressee could be a strategy of addressee specification (Gumperz, 1982) and, therefore, of declaring ethnic/linguistic group membership. In sum, A3’s linguistic biography is verified by the oral data: she uses Greek only when talking to her Albanian peers, except for the cases when she wants to say “something serious”. When she switches to Albanian she intends to communicate a message to G3 appealing to their common ethnolinguistic background and expecting to be understood. With this symbolic function of switching to Albanian, A3 indirectly declares her ethnolinguistic identity.

Participants A4 and A5 never switched during the recoded interaction. Again the reasons for the selection of Greek throughout the recordings must be examined under the light of these participants’ linguistic background. Starting with A4, her language biography reveals that her choice of code is quite justified as she believes that speaking Greek helps her make more friends and she is afraid others might make fun of her if she speaks Albanian. Also, she thinks that other students respect her more if she speaks Greek. Nevertheless, this is not the language she uses all the time. At home she speaks both languages; her father speaks Albanian mainly but her mother speaks Greek. However, as her grandparents do not know any Greek, they all use Albanian mostly whenever the grandparents visit. On the other hand, A4 communicates with her brother in Greek. Sometimes she speaks Albanian when she talks to her parents about school and about family issues; “when I am at home I speak mostly Albanian when I speak to my mum and my dad but with my brother... but with my brother we speak Greek mostly”. She would like her teacher to speak Albanian because as she said “some children can’t speak it”, probably meaning that this way they might be helped in learning it. She has not visited her homeland since she came to Greece because her family does not have the necessary documents but their relatives visit them very often. At school she speaks Greek: “with my friends who have come here from Albania we speak Greek more”. Besides, she admits that she does not understand Albanian very well and she makes mistakes when she speaks it. She cannot read it at all or write it: “I find it hard to... write in



Albanian. I find it hard to read and write. With my Albanian friends I speak Greek mostly but I also speak a little Albanian". To the question why she uses Greek with them she replies: "Because some of my classmates don't know... the rest of them don't know how to speak Albanian". She does not think her parents want her to use Albanian more than Greek. Furthermore, she has felt isolated from her Albanian relatives due to the language she uses, implying inadequate competence of Albanian for effective communication. She believes that she is much better at Greek than Albanian: "As for Albanian, I have, I have forgotten something, some words from Albania".

Summing up, A4 starts with declaring that she speaks both languages but eventually states that she has problems with using Albanian even in speaking. This is consistent with her reaction in Extract 1 (p.200) when A1 suggests speaking Albanian. A4 refuses, saying that the teacher did not tell them to do so, an excuse that might indicate how she feels uncomfortable speaking Albanian either because she considers its use a marked choice in the school context or because she does not feel confident enough in using this language. The latter is also implied in her interview. On the other hand, in Extract 2 (p.200) she sounds shocked by the use of improper language used by G3 and in this way she reveals understanding of what was just said in Albanian. In the same extract, when A1 challenges the others by asking if they know what the inappropriate words meant, A4 answers negatively despite her initial reaction. This can be explained as an indication of disapproval of what has been said, but the fact that she declares lack of understanding remains. This is also what she declared during her interview; lack of ability in Albanian and better skills in Greek, the language that she selects when interacting with other Albanian immigrant children.

The last participant in this group who also never switched from Greek to Albanian during the recordings is A5. This student was born in Albania but went to school in Greece. His father came to Greece first and then the rest of the family followed. He can speak both Greek and Albanian; he learned Greek when he came to Greece and Albanian at home with his family: *"and the Albanian language I've learned it ... with ... at home when they speak... the others"*. He states that he uses Albanian with his family, even with his brothers. To the question about the language he uses at school, he replies that he uses Greek only, even with the children who come from Albania: *"I don't use Albanian at school"*. He thinks that he is equally good in both languages, but later he says that he can not write or read in Albanian, he can only do so in Greek. Also, he makes mistakes when he speaks Albanian. As for his parents, they let him speak both languages, although he personally likes Greek more. He would not say he avoids using Albanian because he thinks he is good at it. Nevertheless, he thinks that speaking

Greek has helped him make friends, as all his friends are Greek. In addition, he would not like his teacher to speak Albanian because he likes Greek more. He visits Albania during his summer holidays. When he is there he uses Albanian only and watches Albanian programmes on TV. This participant's attitude towards the two languages is totally consistent with his selection of code in the recorded interaction. Greek is the language he prefers using, especially in the school context, the one he was taught and the one he is better at.

Given these points, participants in the EB group use Greek with siblings and with Albanian peers with the exception of A5 who uses Albanian mostly. Moreover, they expressed solidarity to their ethnolinguistic group through claims about the use of Albanian that did not always correlate either with how they described their competence in the four skills or with the use of Albanian in the recorded interaction. As it was found in the detailed analysis of recorded interaction that I will present in the sub-chapters that follow, such claims can be explained as strategies of identity negotiation (Cummins, 2000) and the construction of particular loyalties (Garcia, 2009) .

### **6.2.3. The group of Early Bilinguals (EB).**

Participants in the EB group were born in Greece or came to Greece during infancy. As Table 15 shows (Appendix 8), from the eight participants in this group only G1, G3, G5 and G8 switched in Albanian. Starting with G1, one of the two participants in this group who submitted the -relatively- largest number of switches into Albanian, we find that he represents a very interesting research subject. G1 came to Greece when he was one year old. In the beginning of his interview he claimed that he uses both languages in his everyday routine: *"I've learned them from my family and from the TV"*. Therefore, he stated that he uses Albanian at home with his parents and grandparents, but Greek with his brother and his friends. At some point he noted that at home he uses Albanian mostly. Regarding the reasons for using Albanian at school, he explained that he may use it with his classmates who come from Albania when he does not want others to understand what he and his friends are talking about. He seems to defend his use of Albanian quite strongly at the interviewer's persistent questions adding that *"...when I speak at school with my friends I use Greek and Albanian if ... we speak Albanian to explain ourselves better, because in Greek we don't know it so well... so as to understand each other better... because not all of them speak Greek very well and also because sometimes I don't want others to understand what we're saying"*. The interviewer asks again about the language he uses with other students who come from Albania, stressing that the other participants who were interviewed before him did not say that they use Albanian at school. Reconsidering the issue, G1 replies: *"Sometimes (I*

do)". The interviewer asked him to elucidate and G1 remarked *"Err, I don't say difficult words"*. He also noted that he does not avoid using Albanian because he likes it *"a little"*. He believes that watching children's programmes on Albanian TV has helped him learn Albanian better.

The rest of the interview, however, revealed that reality is not exactly how G1 described it. Starting from his self-assessment in both languages, he evaluated himself with six to seven out of ten in Greek because, as he notes, he *"doesn't know it well"* and in Albanian with two out of ten because he cannot really speak it; *"I understand a little when I speak Albanian and I don't understand... so much... I cannot read...Only speak a little... I can't write a text in Albanian because I can't even write. I have learned (how to write) here in Greece. I came here one year old and I went straight to school"*. Furthermore, he would not like his teacher to speak Albanian because he would not understand her. In addition, he is worried about the fact that he has not learned Albanian as well as he should have because as he states: *"In case I go back to Albania I may have difficulties there"*; something that is not so much a possibility but a fact because he visits Albania every summer during the holidays. All these findings are not exactly consistent with his initial effort to convince the interviewer that he speaks Albanian at home and at school. As the interview proceeds, he goes so far as to identify himself as one of the mainstream students using *"we"* and *"they"* when he states that the Albanian language has more words than Greek and this makes it harder to learn: *"in Albanian **they** have more words than **we** do and ... it is hard to understand. **They** have more letters and it is hard to learn them and it is... for me it is hard...I don't know about the others who have just spoken what they said but I find it difficult to learn ... and I don't want to go back to Albania to stay just to go there and come back to Greece where I grew up"*. This last sentence, expressed in a rather dramatic tone, sums up how G1 really feels about his parents' language.

But let us examine what happens during the recordings of informal interaction. G1 appears able to understand what is being said in Albanian at some point and this is obvious in Extract 2 (p.200) where he is the first to express his disapproval of the inappropriate language that G3 has used and he does that using Albanian. At the same time, he implies that he is aware of the recorder's presence: *"But they know what you mean"*, they referring to the rest of the participants or to the teacher/researcher. In addition, he joins other participants singing a rhyme and thus using Albanian in order to make others laugh. This, as he stated in his interview, could be explained as his strategy to use Albanian so as not to be understood by *"outsiders"* -like the teacher/researcher- with the strategy of *addressee specification*; after all, the rhyme contains inappropriate language. He also uses Albanian to reiterate the sentence

he has said in Greek and thus demonstrate what he can do in Albanian (Extract 9, p.210) as there was no real need for translation at that point of interaction. His intentional use of Albanian during the recorded interaction, limited as it might be, can be explained as his effort to declare membership and solidarity to his ethnic/linguistic group as well as to his family. This also explains his initial effort to convince the interviewer that he uses Albanian more than he really does. Eventually, his low self-confidence in using the parents' language is obvious. Still, the language he uses without any inhibitions throughout the recordings is Greek, which, after all, is the language that he is comfortable with because it is the one he knows better; the language with which he grew up.

The case of G1 is particularly interesting because three years before the research started this student had been the one to help me communicate with another student who had recently arrived from Albania (participant A2) by becoming my translator. However, G1 did so reluctantly. He had complained that he could not speak Albanian correctly. I realized that he did not like to speak Albanian in the classroom although I had not noticed any negative attitudes by other (Greek) students. On the other hand, when I asked him about the reasons for his reluctance to translate, he expressed low self-confidence in the use of Albanian.

Participant G3 also used four switches. She was born in Greece and she speaks both languages: *"I speak both Albanian and Greek... I learned this language, Greek, because I went to school. I have learned Albanian from...from the TV and ... and I speak (it) with my family"*. At first she stated that at home she uses both languages but then she clarified that *"...at home I speak Greek mostly... and Albanian with my cousins when they visit"*. Later, she stated that she uses both languages the same. However, at school she speaks Greek even when she talks to other Albanian students because *"this is the language everyone has to speak"*. She may use Albanian at home *"when there is a problem"* but she believes she is equally good in both languages: *"No, what I know in Greek I know in Albanian too.... I don't make mistakes when I speak Albanian because I have got used to it as I speak both Greek and Albanian"*. She thinks she can write a little in Albanian because she has learned that from the TV. *"I have learned Albanian from ... from the TV.... A composition, I can write it because I have learned it from the TV"*. She evaluates herself with "Excellent" at Greek and with nine out of ten at Albanian. Still, she can not read Albanian. However, she notes that she would prefer her teacher to speak Greek only because this way she understands her better. She believes that speaking in Albanian is not easy because there are different dialects, *"...because in Albania there are some people from other villages and cities who speak somehow different from people in my town, that's why"*. Her parents want her to speak Albanian *"...so that I learn Albanian better because it is my country"*. She visits Albania

during the holidays and she speaks Greek a lot when she visits her relatives there, but she feels a little distanced from them.

In the recorded interaction participant G3 switched into Albanian when she was describing one of the pictures in the board game (Extract 1, p.201), in order to say inappropriate words that shocked the other participants (Extract 2, p.201), to unreasonably reiterate a whole sentence translating it from Greek to Albanian (Extract 8, p.206), and to participate in a rhyme that also includes inappropriate language (Extract 9, p.207). Apart from the case of her first switch, G3 appeared to be deliberately trying to recall whatever input available in order to exhibit some competence in Albanian for reasons that are not different from those of the other participants who switched, i.e. declaring ethnic/linguistic group membership. As she noted during the interview, Greek constitutes an unmarked choice at school and the use of Albanian for her is associated with cases when there is a problem. However, she does not hesitate to make Albanian an even more marked choice by breaking the rules regarding the use of inappropriate language with the strategy of *addressee specification*. For participant G3, the use of Albanian in the recorded interaction is somehow associated with markedness. This assumption is not only based on the fact that she considers Albanian to be a marked choice in the school setting, but also on the way she used Albanian in her switches: two out of the four switches were inappropriate words/expressions. Through the addressee specification strategy (Gumperz, 1982) she appeals to the assumed common ethnolinguistic background of the participants expecting to be understood by them only.

Participant G5 switched only once into Albanian during the recorded interaction. According to her linguistic biography, she was born in Greece. She can speak both Albanian and Greek, but she states that she uses Greek mostly. Her parents sometimes speak Albanian so she may speak Albanian at times when she talks to them, but she always uses Greek with her brother. She believes that her parents want her to be fluent in both languages. When her grandmother who lives in Albania visits them, everybody in the family has to speak Albanian because it is the only language her grandmother can speak. *“I use Greek with my friends mostly and with my, err parents Albanian. But mostly, mostly, more Greek.”* At school she uses Greek to communicate with everyone, even her friends who come from Albania and she may use Albanian only *“when someone cannot speak Greek”*. As she initially claims, at school she uses *“Err, Alba...err, Greek, but if they don’t know much, Albanian”*. The interviewer gets back to ask again and she replies that she uses only Greek with her friends at school. She evaluates her competence in Greek as Very Good but she cannot evaluate her competence in Albanian because she *“can only count up to seven”* in this language. However, she claims that she does not make mistakes when she speaks Albanian and she

can understand others very well when they speak it. Nevertheless, she prefers speaking Greek: *"I want to learn Greek more than Albanian"*. In addition, she would not like her teacher to speak Albanian because she understands Greek more. She does not know how she would feel in Albania because she has never visited it.

In the recorded interaction, G5's behaviour is consistent with her linguistic biography. She communicates in Greek with her classmates and the only instance of switching to Albanian is in Extract 10 (p.206) when she starts singing a song with inappropriate language making the others laugh. She may have selected Albanian so as not to be understood by the teacher/researcher with the selection of a code only her ethnic/linguistic group would understand. According to the translator, the lyrics are funny, but do not really make sense and appear to be an improvisation of words and phrases that come to mind. In other words, once again a participant seems to be deliberately using Albanian in order to joke while also implying group membership and ethnic identity (Lytra, 2007). This switch, as well as those of G3 above, is consistent with Eldridge's (1996) function of code-switching as a marker of group membership according to which switches have a comic effect and function as in-group identity markers. What is also common between these participants regarding the use of Albanian during the recorded interaction is the association of this language with marked choices, i.e. the use of inappropriate language. In sum, G5's Albanian part of the bilingual repertoire appears to be fragmented; although initially she said that she can speak Albanian later she said she can only count up to three. This was also implied by the way she switched to Albanian in the oral data, creating a funny song with bits of her fragmented Albanian repertoire. She addressed the assumed common ethnolinguistic background expecting the other participants to understand and laugh.

Participant G8 also switched only once from Greek to Albanian during the recorded interaction. His linguistic biography reveals that, like participant G1, he was born in Albania and came to Greece when he was one year old. He can speak both Albanian - which he learned from his family- and Greek which he has learned in the nine years he has been in Greece. At home he speaks Albanian with his family and only a little Greek. His parents address him in Albanian and they want him to speak Albanian at home but Greek at school. He thinks that learning English at school has helped him improve his knowledge of Albanian as both languages share the Latin alphabet. At school he speaks Greek, even when he talks to children who come from Albania, although he might sometimes speak Albanian when he does not know the Greek word for something; *"the language I use here at school is Greek... I speak Greek to those friends of mine who come from Albania"*. He does not avoid using Albanian and he does not believe he will have more friends just because he speaks Greek.

In his eyes, he is no different from his Greek classmates. He makes mistakes when he speaks it, and he does not understand others very well when they speak it either: *“there are some words that I don’t know well... when I speak Albanian I make some mistakes. When someone speaks Albanian I don’t understand very well but...if they say it right I will understand”*. He evaluates himself with seven out of ten in Greek and four out of ten in Albanian. Moreover, he cannot write anything in Albanian, but he can read shop signs. He would not understand much if his teacher spoke Albanian, so he does not think he would like that. He visits Albania every summer and when he is there he uses Albanian only. He watches Greek programmes on TV only because *“there are no good programmes on Albanian channels”*. He does not believe his Greek classmates will make fun of him if they hear him speak Albanian.

Participant’s G8 only switch took place during a miming game, probably as a gap-filling strategy, when he was supposed to guess the right word to win the game. His contribution was a word in Albanian that, although it was not clear enough to be intelligible, must have been the Albanian equivalent of what he thought as an answer. G8’s linguistic behaviour during the recorded interaction is consistent with his interview answers; he stated that he speaks Greek at school with his Albanian friends and that he may use Albanian when he does not know a word in Greek. During the rest of the recording, this participant used Greek to communicate with the other Albanian immigrant students.

The rest of the participants in the EB group used Greek only during the recorded interaction. Again, the reasons for their choice of language should be in their linguistic background as this is revealed in their linguistic biographies. Starting with participant G2 who was born in Greece and has also attended the Greek kindergarten programme, we find that, according to her interview, she speaks both Albanian and Greek: *“I speak both Albanian and Greek with my family and the same happens with my brothers, but with my grandparents I speak, err, Albanian”*. She has learned Greek from her family and from the TV programmes. As for Albanian, her parents helped her learn it. However, she and her parents also speak Greek at home so that her little brother can learn Greek too, but when her grandfather visits them they all speak Albanian. Her parents use Albanian to communicate with each other but they may use both languages to address her. Nevertheless, she uses only Greek with her brother. She also uses Greek with her friends *“so that they understand me”*. During group work at school, she speaks Greek *“so that we understand each other”*. At school she speaks Greek even with students who come from Albania. She never speaks Albanian at school. *“At school, err, with my friends we speak... we speak Greek and a lot of the kids who come from Albania also speak Greek. At school I never speak Albanian on any topic... Err, at school I avoid*

*speaking to... I speak Greek because... because first of all, if I speak (Albanian) nobody will understand*". Elucidating her use of Greek at school, she explains that she does so not only because others would not understand her otherwise, but also because she is embarrassed to speak Albanian. She does not believe she makes more friends speaking Greek and she does not feel different from her Greek classmates. Nevertheless, she feels that they will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian in their presence. *"Yes, nobody will understand me ... and I'm ashamed ... I'm ashamed sometimes, I don't know Albanian so well, that's why"*. She assesses her competence in Greek with eight out of ten but in Albanian as low as one out of ten. She cannot read Albanian and generally she makes mistakes, *"too many mistakes"* are her own words. She does not understand others at all when they speak Albanian and she cannot write it either, although it has almost the same alphabet as English. Reading and writing in Albanian are the hardest skills for her. She would not like her teacher to speak Albanian because as she says *"I wouldn't understand her"*. She thinks that her family wants her to speak Greek mostly. She has visited Albania only once when she was very little and she feels isolated from her relatives because they do not understand her. She watches Albanian TV *"because I want to know something when I go to Albania"*.

In the beginning of the interview, G2 stated that she speaks Albanian with her parents and grandfather. Later it became obvious that she does not have adequate knowledge to communicate in Albanian and this explains the repetition of the phrases *so as to understand each other* in her answers. Her statement about using only Greek at school is confirmed by the recordings. In Extract 2 (p.200) she stressed how she did not understand the inappropriate language G3 used in Albanian, shouting that she is not even interested in understanding it. Her embarrassment about speaking Albanian is based on her low confidence in the use of her parents' language, as she says. In addition, her parents seem to encourage her preference of Greek instead of Albanian. She thinks she will learn Albanian better by watching TV programmes because this method has helped her with learning Greek. However, watching TV programmes in Albanian does not seem to have the same effect on her as it does on other participants who stated that they have developed their knowledge of Albanian by watching such programmes. This could be because the parents' attitude is different in the case of G2; Greek is used more often in the communication among the family members than it is in the previous cases. Obviously, more research is needed in the future on the subject of the effect of TV programmes and language maintenance.

G3's patterns of communication are affected by her lack of competence in Albanian and by parental attitudes. Her comment about how nobody would understand if she spoke Albanian



at school is an indication of how she perceives her Albanian friends' competence as fragmented. Her only communication in Albanian is when grandparents visit.

Participant G4 was also born in Greece. She speaks both Albanian and Greek. She acquired Albanian from her parents, mostly her mother, and Greek from her parents and school. *"I can speak Greek and Albanian as well, err, I have learned these languages from... First I learned it at school, Greek, but also at home. Mum helped me a little"*. With her family, she uses both languages but she does not think she uses one language more than the other, although her parents address her and her sister in Greek. She may speak Albanian sometimes when she plays with her sister: *"when I don't know the Greek word or when I want to say something faster"*, but the language she uses the most with her sister is Greek. Furthermore, when she speaks to her friends she uses Greek. At school she speaks only Greek and she also does so when she plays or when she goes to parties. She believes that she should not use Albanian at school because it is a Greek school. She never uses Albanian with her Albanian friends when she is at school no matter the topic of the conversation. When the interviewer asks again about the language she uses the most, she states that she uses both languages the same. She may use Albanian when *"I don't know how to say something in Greek... I know it but... I want to say it faster, err, and because none of my aunts, my mother's sisters, speak Greek and I have to use Albanian but ... only two friends (of mum's) who are in Greece can speak Greek"*. She claims that she does not avoid speaking Albanian generally but she adds that *"I don't want to speak Albanian because the Greeks when they hear a word in Albanian ... (they say) here's the Albanian, thinking it is an insult, but when it's an Italian one..."*. She thinks she must be speaking Greek at school so that she learns more words. In addition, she believes that she has more friends if she speaks Greek because not all the children in her school are Albanians, most of them are Greek who do not understand Albanian. She does not think that children who are Greek will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian; she thinks this is their prerogative, but she is certain that her friends have no problem with Albanian. She evaluates her knowledge in Greek as neither excellent nor very good because there are words she still does not know, but she has the same problem in Albanian. So, her level of knowledge is the same in both languages. None of the four skills is too hard for her regarding Albanian. She does not make mistakes when she speaks Albanian but there are words which are hard and when she does not use them very often she forgets them. She understands others when they speak Albanian. She thinks her English classes have helped her lot with learning Albanian as most of the letters are the same as those in the English alphabet. Later, she says that she cannot read in Albanian because *"... the words are a little difficult, err, I can't say them very well... when I don't use them very much"*. She can write a text of two-three lines; she did it once with her father's help and she thinks she

can describe herself in Albanian. *“If I hadn’t started English I wouldn’t have understood a word. Because, because the words are the same although Albanian is, it has more letters than the whole world I think, because there are thirty-six of them and, okay, I under...I understand it”*. She is not sure if she would like her teacher to speak Albanian, although on a second thought it would be nice if the teacher could translate to her any words she does not understand from Greek to Albanian. Her parents allow her to speak the language she prefers. She herself is not sure which one she prefers; the one is the language of her origin but the other is the language of her friends. She rarely goes to Albania on holiday, but she does not feel isolated from her relatives there because of the language. She usually watches both Albanian and Greek TV.

The case of participant G4 is different from that of G2. Unlike G2, G4 has some knowledge of Albanian despite the difficulties she has in it; it is the language she understands and has to use sometimes with people of the same ethnic group. She seems to be in a dilemma about which of the two languages she prefers but as far as it concerns the school context there is no question: she uses Greek only, not just because it constitutes an unmarked choice that falls in with the stereotyped attitudes towards her ethnolinguistic group and the “stigma” associated with Albanian (see chapter 3), but also using Greek in her everyday life helps her learn this language better. However, she did not prove that she uses both languages equally in her everyday life or that she is equally good at both of them as it is also obvious that her statement about none of the four skills in Albanian being too hard for her is not true. It may be concluded, therefore, that participant G4 consciously or not, intends to convince the researcher/interviewer that she is more competent in Albanian than she truly is, probably driven by the need to express solidarity to her family and the ethnolinguistic group she comes from.

Participant G6 was also born in Greece. Greek is the only language he can speak. His parents also use Greek when they talk to each other but *“when grandma comes from Albania she speaks Albanian with dad”*. He does not think his parents want him to speak Albanian. At school he uses Greek only and never Albanian as he cannot speak it. This is why he would not like his teacher to be speaking Albanian. He visits Albania during the summer holidays, but when he is there he speaks Greek. However, he does not feel isolated from his friends and relatives there because of the language. Of all the participants involved in the study, G6 is the most taciturn. Not because he is reluctant to talk about himself, but because his linguistic background is quite simple: he does not know any Albanian, so he uses Greek only. This is the reason for not using Albanian when he communicates with others as he does in the recorded interaction. Even in Albania, speaking Greek feels right to him.

Participant G7 was born in Greece too. When he communicates with his brother he uses Greek but he uses Albanian with his parents and grandparents. He also uses Greek with his friends who come from Albania. He does not avoid speaking Albanian because as he says, *"I can't avoid it... because... because mum and dad speak it all the time and to me too."* Still, he does not like this language *"because to me it is a difficult language"*. He believes that speaking Greek helps him make more friends and feels that he is no different from his Greek classmates. He thinks that his classmates would make fun of him if he spoke Albanian, although it has never happened. He believes that he is better at Greek than Albanian, as he makes mistakes when he speaks Albanian. Nevertheless, he can understand some of it when others speak Albanian although he cannot read it or write it, as he finds it a very difficult language to learn. He stated that when he goes to Albania he speaks Albanian, but when the interviewer pointed out his previous answer that he cannot speak Albanian he said *"yes, I don't know it, but I will learn"*. He feels distanced from his relatives in Albania because of the language. He does not think it is a good idea to have an Albanian-speaking teacher as he would not be able to understand her. He thinks his parents want him to speak Albanian because, according to them, it is not so hard to learn it. Also, he needs it in summer when he visits Albania otherwise he will not be able to understand other Albanians. He watches only Greek programmes on TV. This participant, like G2, initially declared that he uses Albanian more than he really does. In fact, it was revealed that he does not really speak it. He also said that Albanian is a difficult language for him. His language choice during the recordings is consistent with that belief as it is with his attitude about how the use of Albanian is considered a marked choice in the school context.

These four participants present some similarities in their linguistic biographies. First of all, they were all born in Greece. Second, there is positive attitude regarding the use of Greek by the parents -with the exception of G7. In addition, Greek is used in the home context, especially between siblings, while also they all prefer using Greek compared to Albanian, with only G4 being in a dilemma. Finally, they all find Albanian a difficult language. What is also important to highlight is the fact that the three of them felt the need to give the impression that they use Albanian more than they really do, an issue related with their need to exhibit solidarity to their family and to their ethnic group. What emerged as a common attitude, either expressed directly or indirectly, is the association of markedness with the use of Albanian in the school context. This last finding is not irrelevant to the stereotypes affecting the social context in both levels, that of mainstream society and that of the participants' ethnolinguistic group.

In conclusion, the participants' initial perceptions regarding the two languages as these were expressed in their interviews and their linguistic biographies were not all validated in the recordings of informal interaction; they initially declared that they speak Albanian but reality was much different, especially when I asked them about how and when they use Albanian with questions referring to contexts and skills. Therefore, I had to distinguish the findings that emerged throughout the total number of interview questions that examined the topic in depth, in contrast to the participants' urge to declare higher levels of competence in Albanian than what is linguistic reality. Both methods of data collection and their analysis provides evidence that Greek is used by these participants at school with speakers of the same ethnolinguistic group while levels of competence in Albanian diminish and there is no real interest into developing them. In this sense, the participants exhibit a tendency for rapid attrition, or even shift, from Albanian to Greek as the conditions for developing the parents' language are minimal even in the home context.

#### **6.2.4. Informal interaction among the participants: analyzing switches into Albanian.**

For the analysis of the participants' recorded interaction the principle of *recipient – designed* talk was considered as one of the tools for the identification of the reasons for switching from Greek to Albanian. According to the recipient – design discourse pattern, discourse is designed according to what the addressee knows or does not know (Schegloff, 1984; Sacks et al., 1974; Drew, 2012). Specific participants made use of switches into Albanian assuming the others would understand and possibly follow up. This was not always the outcome, however; there were cases when one or two participants' switch was triggered by a previous one but generally these switches stand alone in the conversation. Laughter was also considered as an indication of *understanding* and therefore, it implied group membership.

In addition, the discourse functions of code switching identified by Gumperz (1982) as *quotation*, *interjection*, *reiteration*, *message qualification* and *addressee specification* were valuable principles in the recognition of instances of switches from Albanian to Greek. From these functions the following were identified in the recordings of the participants' interaction:

1. *interjection* (Gumperz, 1982:77): when switches functioned as gap fillers as no translation equivalent was available
2. *reiteration* (Gumperz, 1982:78) in the form of translation which may have a dual function: to clarify the message or to exhibit knowledge of Albanian and thus declare ethnic identity and membership in the ethnic group of Albanian immigrants.

3. The instances of code-switching also involved the function of *addressee specification* (Gumperz, 1982:77) with the speaker directing the message to a particular addressee, including or excluding other people hearing the conversation.

Such functions have also been identified by Appel and Muysken (2005). For instance, the *directive function* (Appel and Muysken, 2005:29) refers to the addressee and to how the employment of one language signals the inclusion or exclusion of speakers. Also, with its *expressive function* (Appel and Muysken, 2005:30), code-switching is engaged in the cases when the speaker intends to express their feelings or switch between the two languages in order to “emphasize their mixed identity” (Appel and Muysken, 2005:119). Moreover, the *metalinguistic function* of codeswitching was considered when the speakers directly or indirectly commented in one of the languages revealing their attitudes and awareness of language use (Appel and Muysken, 2005:120). The *phatic function* enables the speaker to change the tone in the discourse by making “use of conventionalized openings, closings, and ways to signal turn taking, and if necessary, also of language forms that identify the in-group within which interaction is taking place” (Appel and Muysken, 2005:30). Finally, the *poetic function* of switches was considered when the speakers made jokes (Appel and Muysken, 2005:120) displaying identity through playful talk (Lytra, 2007).

Eldridge (1996) uses concepts such as *equivalence*, *floor-holding*, *reiteration*, and *conflict control* to distinguish among the different functions of switches. For the function of *reiteration*, which was observed in the recorded data of this study, the switch is used to reinforce, emphasize or clarify the message that might not have been understood when expressed in one code only. Another important function for this study is that of *conflict control* where “one of the main purposes of codeswitching is to create ambiguity in order to deal with situations in which there is a potential conflict” (Eldridge, 1996: 307). Therefore, the speaker uses switching as a strategy to express the potentially conflictive meaning. Of significant importance is Eldridge’s function of code-switching as a *marker of group membership*: “Switches in this category function as in-group identity markers. This is often realised through ‘wordplay’, where switches and mixes are creatively manufactured for comic effect” (Eldridge, 1996:306).

In addition, Myers-Scotton’s (2000) distinction between *marked* and *unmarked choices* in language use have been of significant importance in order to understand the function of the participants’ switches. An unmarked choice describes the use of language as is expected and feasible, according to Myers-Scotton. A marked one, on the other hand, adds ambiguity to the conversation. “To engage in codeswitching at all is an instance of speakers acting

rationally because codeswitching makes optimal use of the resources in their linguistic repertoires. When the switch is a marked choice, the message is that the speaker is trying to construct a new social meaning of the speaker's own persona or the import of the ongoing discourse, thereby negotiating a new norm" (Myers-Scotton, 2000:1259). For this study, the switch from Greek to Albanian is considered as a marked choice for the majority of the participants who refuse to use Albanian even when challenged by those who do switch (Extracts 1 and 2, Appendix 9). This remark was also highlighted in their interviews: school is a Greek-speaking environment, therefore, the switch to Albanian could be considered as one participant's effort to negotiate a new norm in the interaction: the change of code.

An interesting addition to the concept of marked choices is offered by Gross (2000) where code-switching is viewed as a way to negotiate interactional power by powerless individuals who employ their linguistic expertise to control the interaction by using marked choices. Controlling the interaction implies power -due to the ability to affect the outcome of the interaction through one's linguistic ability. It involves Face Threatening Acts (Gross, 2000) and employs strategies that include "...threats, warnings and dares; name calling and abusive or profane language; contempt and ridicule; and expressions of strong negative emotions including hatred and anger" (Gross, 2000:1287). A version of this function of code-switching - although not too extreme- is the example in Extract 2 (p.200). Marked choices cause an asymmetry in power between interactants as Gross notes and goes on to identify the addressee's response as "a strong, verbal or physical reaction" (Gross, 2000:1287), a reaction that resembles at some point participants' G1 and G3 response to participants' G3, A1 and A3 inappropriate language and dares.

Gardner-Chloros et al. also provide the feature of what is described as "asides"; features that function as equivalents of monolingual features like changing the voice, whispering or pitch; "codeswitching, then when used in conjunction with a change in voice quality or another prosodic feature, can take its place amongst the range of linguistic features that can function to create interactional involvement" (Gardner-Chloros et al., 2000:1336).

It should also be noted that switches were found to be affected by culture -in this case including school culture- where switching to Albanian was employed for words that are not appropriate in the specific context (Extracts 2, 7, Appendix 9). In all the cases of inappropriate speech, participants A2 and G3 switched to Albanian. Participant A2 also switched into Albanian in ways that could justify the switches as the outcomes of his need to express emotion, such as complaint, boredom or frustration (Extracts 2 and 3, Appendix 9). However, these could also be examples of lack of adequate input; data from the participant's

linguistic biography show that the specific participant may not have enough input to express emotion in Greek. A2 is the participant who, in spite of his remarkable progress in speaking Greek, has spent a bigger part of his life in Albania than in Greece and has learned Greek more recently than the others having attended the three first classes of primary school in Albania. In fact, in many cases the switches appeared to involve dual or multiple functions; therefore, the need to juxtapose these findings with data from the participants' linguistic biographies was necessary because "the best key to understanding the patterns is therefore the participation of a researcher with a thorough knowledge of the linguistic characteristics, personality and personal interest of the subjects" (Gardner-Chloros et al., 2000:1312). As a result, the juxtaposition of findings from the analysis of the recordings with those from the participants' linguistic biographies proved crucial.

In what follows I will analyse parts of the oral data where the instances of codeswitching occur based on the function of switches. Parts of the transcribed extracts are included in the text. Full extracts can be found in Appendix 9, p. 200 and transcription conventions on p.208.

Expressing ethnic identity and group membership: In Extract 1 (p.200), participant A2 comments enthusiastically on the illustration on the card. Participant G3, who can only see part of the image, guesses it is a whale. Participants A4 and G1 disagree. Then participant G3 identifies the illustrated bird switching to Albanian with the equivalent of the word 'eagle' to describe the picture (05). The timing for the change of code is not random but directly related to the picture illustrated on the card and the issue of ethnic identity as it will be discussed below. In 07, participant's A2 switch serves as display of understanding by reformulating G3's code-switch in 05: he adds the name of his country of origin and G3's "eagle" is changed into "eagle Albania" by A2. Nevertheless, there is much more in this switch than a simple display of understanding and declaration of in-group membership: what A2 is saying is the Albanian equivalent for the phrase 'Albanian eagle'. Obviously, this is not a random word choice but directly relates to the issue of identity. The collocation makes sense as a symbol of ethnic identity: the two-headed eagle that is depicted on the Albanian flag. This occurrence of code switching has been triggered by the image on the card, responding to an external cue; it can be, therefore, a deliberate and metaphorical switch as the picture triggers the topic change from the game on animals to the issue of homeland and to the opportunity for declaring ethnic identity.

Extract 1. <<Context: The participants are playing a memory game using cards>>

05→ G3: <<Albanian>> (-) sou miaziz=

<<Albanian: eagle>>. It looks like you.

- 06 G1: =[ego]  
Me.
- 07→ A2: <<Albanian>>=  
<<Albanian: Eagle Albania>>
- 08→ A1: = e pe]dia (-) tha milisoume ke ligo alvanika=<<lowering  
voice>>  
Hey guys (-) let's speak a bit of Albanian.

If we examine the way the participants respond to the initial switch from Greek to Albanian, we can identify the following: participant A2 displays understanding by reformulating participant's G3 code-switch in line 05, switching into Albanian and producing the meaning 'Albanian eagle' (07). G3 and A2 presume in-group membership about the rest of the participants formulating a "recipient-design" pattern in their speech (Sacks et al., 1974) assuming what their recipients understand, based on the belief that they share a common linguistic background and culture.

In 08, participant A1 directly suggests that the group start speaking Albanian, thus displaying understanding to participant's A2 previous switch to Albanian. However, she does that lowering her voice probably trying to evade being recorded while saying that. Considering that this is an extract from the first recordings carried out, the participants are probably still aware of the fact that they are being recorded. Nevertheless, participant's A1 contribution in 08 is not random but triggered by participants' A2 and G3 switches and the reminder of an ethnic symbol. For the rest of the participants, the use of Albanian constitutes a marked choice they refuse to make (lines 09,11). As it has already been detected from their linguistic biographies, participants A3 and A4 both consider the use of Albanian at school a marked choice whereas they both have problems understanding Albanian and make mistakes when they speak it. Therefore, no other indication of membership display occurs and participants resume the card game in Greek.

In Extract 2, a contribution by G3 that is a swear word in Albanian –a vulgar one indeed- is offered (03) instead of a response to participant's A2 urge to go on with the game (02). The recipient-designed speech pattern achieves its goal; in line 04 the exclamation of shock and the reprimand by A4 exhibits understanding but also disapproval. It is followed by laughter from the rest of the group who in this way exhibit tacit understanding and therefore indicate in-group membership. In line 05, sounding offended, G1 reprimands G3 as well, switching to Albanian to say that *they know* what the swear word means and thus displaying understanding. The pronoun *they* may have been used here to imply either the rest of the



participants or the teacher/researcher. In line 06, A2 displays indifference to participant's G1 reprimand and more laughter follows through which some participants exhibit tacit understanding. In line 08, A2 responds in Albanian but the meaning is not clear; the translator found no meaning in this switch. The aggressive attitude of A2, A3 and A1 as well as the defensive one by G1 and G2 can also be explained under the function of code-switching as a strategy to negotiate interactional power making use of Face –Threatening-Acts (Gross, 2000). The initial switch by G3 in 03 was not triggered by previous talk and can be characterized as totally unprovoked. It may be the speaker's effort to exhibit power and floor-holding by controlling the communication or even to impress through exhibiting her knowledge in Albanian. On the other hand, it could be her attempt for addressee specification, by appealing to those who understand the code she provides assuming of course that the rest of the participants understand it. In this sense, the switch may also function as a way to declare ethnic-group membership. A4, G1 and A2 react in different ways; however, their response reveals understanding of the code G3 has used. The same conclusion can be reached by A3's comment in 11 and A1's in 15: they both imply that the other participants also understand the swear word but do not admit it. A4 and G2 refuse to participate in this conversation (13, 14) and G1's "no" in 12 intends to put an end in the discussion. Participant A2 does the same in 19, resuming the game. The switch has therefore become a marked choice even by those who showed understanding in the beginning, not so much due to the code used but the negative implications an inappropriate word carries within the school environment. The fact that G3 chose Albanian to say such a word has probably reinforced its markedness.

Extract 2. <<Context: The participants are playing a memory game using cards>>

- 03→ G3:       <<Albanian: sipion si pris>>=  
                  <<Albanian for swear word>>
- 04     A4:       = !! re! ti ipe! <<shocked>>  
                  Oh! Hey! What did you say?  
                  ((laughter))
- 05→ G1:       <<Albanian; ekoup toin a taktou>>  
                  <<Albanian: But *they know what you mean.* >>  
                  (.)
- 06→ A2:       <<Albanian: are>>  
                  <<Albanian for Come on>>  
                  ((laughter) ( unintelligible ) <<multiple speakers>>
- 07     G3:       ((laughter)) afto mafto ((laughter)) (--) [afto:: me (.) afto::]  
                  This one with that one.

08→ A2:

[<<Albanian>>]

(unitelligible )

((laughter))

In line 17 (see Appendix 9, p.200), the fact that the speaker (A2) lowers his voice to say that he hopes “it did not hear that” implying the recorder -and consequently the researcher- shows that the speaker is still aware of the recorder’s presence. This assumption is reinforced by participant’s A3 effort to silence the group and prevent them from behaving inappropriately (line 18). The rest of the recording that is not included here continues in Greek. As the game evolves the participants seem to gradually forget the presence of the recorder. The participants argue and tease each other, expressing themselves in ways that sound free of constraints. However, they do not use a single word of Albanian during those moments when they probably have been too carried away by the game to deliberately change the code of communication.

Exhibiting knowledge: In extract 3, line 06, (p.201) the intersentential switch made by A2 expresses a negative situation, in this case tacit dissatisfaction through his suggestion to play something else and an effort to change the topic. The question is, therefore, why does he switch into Albanian to do that? A possible explanation could be that he considered that the teacher-researcher would not be able to decipher the “code” and understand that he is unhappy with what they have been doing so far. In other words, the switch here may include the function of *addressee specification* (Gumperz, 1982:77).

Extract 3. <<Context: The participants are playing a memory game using cards>>

05 G3: =kita ti pseftia

Check this liar.

<<background noise>>

06 → A2: <<Albanian: tolozim tolozim nani ye tietere>>

<<Albanian for: Let’s play something else.>>

(.)

07 A1: ti sira mou e=

Hey, my turn.

This, of course, would imply that A2 is again aware of the fact that he is being recorded. Otherwise, A2 may be speaking Albanian just because he can; therefore, he may be exhibiting his skill in Albanian in order to impress the addressee through his linguistic skills. This argument is also consistent with the explanation A2 gave during the interview about how

he deliberately used Albanian in the recordings just to show that he can speak it (Appendix 11). However, as no one responds in the Albanian language -and after a very short pause- the conversation continues in Greek. The rest of the participants ignore participant's A2 complaint and his switch to Albanian as well.

Expressing emotion: Extract 3 above also stands as one of the examples for expressing emotion through code-switching (line 06) as the speaker uses Albanian to express his dissatisfaction with the game the participants have been playing. In Extract 4 participant A3 switches to Albanian to express her disagreement and even annoyance (10), complaining about how G3 does not have to shout at them; an uncalled for complaint, because G3 did not in fact raise her voice that much. In addition, the switch is not triggered by any of the preceding contributions so far. A3 selects the use of Albanian in order to express her anger or intolerance towards G3.

Extract 4. <<Context: the participants have just finished playing a board game>>

09 G3: [ohi] ohi tha peksoume kati edopera tora tha sizitisoume=  
*No, we will play something here now, we well talk about something.*

10 → A3: = <<Albani[an]>>  
***Speak, she can hear you, why do you have to shout?***

11 G1: [You]hou::!  
 <<exclamation of excitement>>

Again, this decision may be based on the principle of addressee specification (Gumperz, 1982) and the “recipient-design” pattern (Sacks et al., 1974). However, this switch may also serve a meta-discursive function. In addition, in both extracts the aggressiveness the switches transpire associates them to the functions of conflict control (Eldridge, 1996) and floor-holding (Gross, 2000). In Extract 3 (p.201), participant A2 attempts a change in the situation, in this case a change in the game, and she chooses Albanian to demand this change. In Extract 4, (p.202), A3 verbally attacks G3 who insists on continuing the game or just talk about something. Her reaction is followed by an exclamation of excitement by G1 who in this way reveals agreement with A3 and at the same time declares ethnic-group membership by exhibiting understanding of participant's A3 switch in Albanian. Once again, this is all the response A3 earns for her switch as no more Albanian is used by any of the other participants and the conversation continues in Greek.

Gap filling: The participants are playing a guessing game with cards and in lines 1 to 11 the first team successfully guesses the Greek word for *traffic*, “kinisi” a word synonym to the one

Extract 5. <<Context: The participants are playing a guessing game>>

code and the game continues in Greek with another switch in 24 that will also be analysed in the following paragraphs.

In Extract 6 the switch made by G8 in line 03 was not easy to translate and has been considered as unintelligible. However, considering the context where it appears -the speaker is trying to guess the mimed word- and what precedes as well as what follows, one might probably conclude that the switch here may serve as gap filler.

Extract 6. <<Context: the participants are playing a miming game>>

02            G4:    (-) pernis e:: (1,3)  
                  You take er...  
03 →        **G8:**    [**<<Albanian>>**]  
                  **<<Albanian >> <<not clear>>**  
                  <<laughter>>

Therefore, the switch may be G8's effort to fill the gap in the previous sentence "You take..." with the word that can finish the sentence by switching to Albanian. The laughter that follows implies a funny note in G8's switch and the translation of it is supplied by C4 with the Greek equivalent of "water can". No other response is offered to G8's switch and the conversation continues in Greek. In Extract 7 (p.204) participant A2 switches to Albanian twice in his effort to find the correct word and respond to the guessing game (lines 11, 13). A translation was not possible and the other participants seem to find the switches unintelligible as well. In line 12, participant A4 seems confused asking "What?" Similarly, G1 ignores participant's A2 contributions and repeats his previous answer (14).

Extract 7. <<Context: the participants are playing a guessing game>>

09            A3:    to: alpha ela  
                  It's alpha, come on.  
10            G1:    alfavito (1,3)  
                  Alphabet.  
11 →        **A2:**    **<<Albanian>>**  
                  **<< unintelligible word >>**  
12            A4:    pio?  
                  What?  
13 →        **A1:**    **<<Albanian>>**  
                  **<<unintelligible phrase>>**  
14            G1:    alfavito.

Alphabet.

The switches at this point may function once again as evidence of participant's A2 inadequate input in order to provide the Greek word.

Reiteration: In Extract 5 above participant A1 displays understanding to the switch submitted by A2 in 12, by repeating the same word that A2 said in Albanian (line 13) and thus declaring ethnic-group membership. No other participant follows up this switch and the game continues as they try to pick a card they can describe through miming. In Extract 8 (p.205) the participants are talking casually after they have finished a game. In line 02, participant A4 announces that she is going to the toilette. Other participants are talking in the background. In line 05, participant G3 uses Greek to announce what is happening: one of the participants is going to the toilette. Then she switches to Albanian to repeat the same sentence.

Extract 8. <<Context: the participants are having a casual interaction among games.>>

04        G2:                [ne!] varieme tora na sikotho.

Yes! I cannot be bothered to get up.

05 → **G3:** i <<name A4>> pai toualeta (---) <<Albanian: <<name A4>>  
dovete a banio >>

<<name A4>> is going to the toilet. <<Albanian for repeating  
/translating the same sentence.>>

06 G2: ohi ohi  
No no.

The switch in this case is what Gumperz (1982) describes as *reiteration* in the form of translation which in its turn may have a dual function: to clarify the message or to exhibit knowledge of Albanian and thus declare ethnic identity and membership in the ethnic group of Albanian immigrants. The second explanation holds more validity in this case, as the sentence even in its original form was not necessary to begin with, considering that there is no need for clarification in the first place as all the participants understand Greek. The initial announcement by G3 in Greek should suffice. On the other hand, the switch may simply reveal the participant's playful mood. Similarly, in Extract 9 (p.206, line 02) participant G1 declares that he is tired and goes on to repeat the same sentence translating it in Albanian. The reiteration through switching to Albanian in this case probably aimed at the same effect as that of participant G3 in Extract 8 (p.205); not really message clarification but rather declaration of ethnic identity and group membership.

The poetic function of switches: In extract 9 (03) G1 and A1 start singing a funny rhyme in Albanian. Then A2 joins them repeating the last verse. It is a rhyme that contains inappropriate words according to the translator, although he could not comprehend exactly the lyrics, and the participants end up laughing. The switches in this case function in what Appel and Muysken (2005) describe as “poetic function” but may also declare group membership as well, following the same pattern of switches throughout the recorded interaction. This assumption is also supported by what follows: in lines 05 and 11, A1 is trying to think of something she can say in Albanian. The inevitable question arises, therefore, regarding how spontaneous the change of code is.

Extract 9. <<Context: the participants are setting the game rules>>

- 01        A1:    ama diladi dialeksi i <<name A4>> tha peksi o <<name A2>> i::  
                  <<name A3>>  
                  So if <<name A4>> gets to pick, then <<name A2>> will play or  
                  <<name A3>>
- 02 →     G1:    **oh kourastika ((albanian: a em sou mou meteplatou))**  
                  **Oh I'm tired. ((albanian:repeating/translating: I am tired))**
- 03 →        <<A1 and G1 sing a rhyme in Albanian>>
- 04        A2:    **<<albanian: repeating the last verse>>**
- G1:    ha  
                  <<exclamation of agreement>>
- 05→     A1:    hm (-) katse na skefto. hmm.  
                  Hmm. Let me think. Hmm.
- 06        A1:    (-) er
- 07        G1:    ha  
                  <<exclamation of agreement>>
- 08        A1:    <<albanian: unintelligible>>
- 09        G1     <<albanian: unintelligible>>
- 10        G3     <<albanian: unintelligible>>
- <<A1, G1, and G3 speak/sing Albanian in an incoherent, unintelligible  
                  way>>
- 11 →     A1:    **ksero ki\_ala alvanika.**  
                  **I know more Albanian.**

The sentence “*I know more Albanian*” in 11 also reveals the deliberate effort to speak Albanian and, therefore, the deliberate effort to declare group membership and ethnic

identity. In the light of this assumption, it becomes easier to understand the incoherent and unintelligible speech in lines 08, 09, and 10 in which participants A1, G1 and G3 use Albanian in a way that reveals intention to entertain the group through the random choice of Albanian words that made it hard for the translators to find a coherent meaning. In extract 10 (p.206), line 02, G5 sings a funny song in Albanian that again is not triggered by any particular stimulus. In addition, the Albanian translators commented that the lyrics are funny but do not really make sense and appear to be an improvisation of words and phrases that come to mind. In other words, once again one of the participants seems to be deliberately using Albanian in order to joke while also implying group membership and ethnic identity.

Extract 10 .<<Context: the children are deciding on what game to play>>

- 01            G8:    (-) e e (-- ) xeris (1,68)  
                       *Hey, hey, you know.*
- 02        → G5:    **Ah (-) <<albanian: lokehante tu tsampari to>>**  
                       <<Albanian: singing a funny song>>  
                       <<laughter>>
- 03            G6:    re elate na pexoume kati re!=  
                       Guys come on, let's play something!

In both cases, the switch is consistent with Eldridge's (1996) function of code-switching as a marker of group membership according to which switches have a comic effect and function as in-group identity markers.

Addressee specification : In Extract 2 (p.200), lines 03, 05, 06 and 08, the switches to Albanian in order to express inappropriate language can also be identified as cases of addressee specification (Gumperz, 1982) with the speaker directing the message to particular addressees, including or excluding other people hearing the conversation. In Extract 2 (p.200) the speakers exclude those who may not understand Albanian as well as the researcher, an assumption that can also be based on the "recipient design" pattern. In Extract 5, (p.202), line 18, participant A4 offers to help G1 in order to describe a word through miming, but A1 interferes by shouting "no". Participant A3 clears out whose turn it is to mime (line 22). G1 starts guessing but A2 interferes using Albanian to reveal the first letter of the word and thus breaking the game rules in order to help G1 (line 24). The switch in Albanian can be explained here as a way to communicate without "others" understanding and according to the *addressee specification* function. Otherwise, it can be a way to impress the addressees by exhibiting knowledge (Appel and Muysken, 2005). In addition, participant A2's offer to help may be based on the assumption that G1 does not have adequate



knowledge of Albanian, thus applying again the “recipient design” pattern. On the other hand, this switch, along with that in Extract 2, can also be explained following Eldridge’s (1996) *conflict control* function of code-switching, a strategy to avoid conflict. The rest of the conversation evolved in Greek. In Extract 11 (p.206), lines 12, 13, 14 and 15 participants A2, A1 and G1 are having a dialogue in Albanian in the context of a miming game. Unfortunately, the translation was not possible in lines 12 and 13 as the recording was not clear enough for the translator. A1 and A2 introduce themselves in Albanian. A1 provides a complete sentence but A1 starts with “una” but never finishes the sentence. It is obvious that there is no real need for the participants to introduce themselves in Albanian; everybody knows who they are.

Extract 11. <<Context: The participants are organizing the miming game >>

10            G2:    na sou po kati

Can I say something?

11            G7:    kathomaste s\_ena thranio:

We are sitting on a desk:

[° °] ((kids talking in the background- unclear))

12 →    A2:    <<Albanian>>

<<Albanian: unintelligible>>

13 →    G1:    <<Albanian>>

<<Albanian: unintelligible>>

14 →    A2:    <<Albanian:uniam>> <<his own name>>

<<Albanian: this is>> <<his own name>>

15 →    A1:    <<Albanian: uniam>> lipon ne

<<Albanian: this is ...>> well, yes

16            A1:    tha horistoume i <<name A3>> e ego o <<name A2>> ke o

<<name G1>>

Let's make groups. <<name A3>>, <<name A2>> and <<name

G1>>

The switches in this case could be theatrical and function as identity markers. Again, no other student participates in the change of code and the interaction continues in Greek.

### **6.2.5. Conclusion**

The methodological approach of recording oral data in the form of informal interaction among immigrant, Albanian, primary school students aimed at the investigation of the patterns of communication used by the participants within their linguistic and ethno-cultural groups in the school environment. More specifically, the recordings of informal interaction among the participants was the tool in order to investigate when and how the participants use Albanian. In general terms, the data collected filled the desired criteria. Interaction was informal as it took place when the teacher was not in a hearing distance and no mainstream student participated in the conversations.

The analysis leads to the conclusion that the language of communication among the participants in the school context is Greek. Albanian was engaged by specific participants with a symbolic function. The use of Albanian was in the form of intersentential code-switching that had multiple functions: on one level they aimed at serving discourse functions but on another level their deliberate use adds to the assumption that the speakers express their need to declare ethnic identity and group membership.

The aim of this approach was to collect data of spontaneous speech as it occurred in order to provide valid natural data for analysis. However, it was obvious that in specific extracts that were analysed in this chapter, the participants often appeared aware of the fact that they were being recorded. This constitutes a problem for research as it limits the level of spontaneity and validity to a certain point. Nevertheless, it also provides this specific research with useful information regarding the participants' effort to declare ethnic-group membership through the use of the Albanian language -either *explicitly* or *tacitly*- with strategies like *addressee specification* and *recipient design*, attempting to establish a code of communication within the group through the use of Albanian.

For the majority of the participants the use of Albanian was not a choice in these recordings. The reasons that explain this attitude are found in the linguistic biographies. For many of the participants the use of Albanian in the school context was considered as a marked choice that often added ambiguity to the conversation (Myers-Scotton, 2000). The inappropriate language that was expressed in Albanian in the transcribed extracts, added to the markedness of its use. For others, the reasons for using only Greek in the recorded extracts lie in the lack of adequate input in Albanian. In addition, even those who did switch did not always produce accurate speech.

Except for the small number of switches into Albanian, Greek was the language used during the recorded interaction among the participants, when they interacted freely -and obviously forgetting the fact that they are being recorded- the language of communication was still Greek. They made fun of each other in Greek, argued and got angry with each other, complained and shouted at each other using inappropriate words and expressions but they did all these in Greek. The monolingual setting does not allow valid conclusions about phenomena such as attrition or language shift for these participants; what can be concluded though, is that these children have adapted to the monolingual institutional setting. As far as it concerns other domains, we can only rely on the participants' perceptions in their linguistic biographies where the dominance of Greek in their bilingual repertoire is highlighted.

Data from both methods of analysis into how these young immigrants handle their languages indicate that competence is higher in Greek and minimal or recognizing in Albanian. Exposure to Albanian is limited and so is support by the educational system and networks. Parental attitudes favour exposure to Greek with transmission of Albanian to the second generation being problematic. As a result, the participants have acquired a truncated Albanian repertoire in the way Blommaert (2010) describes it: parts of the multilingual repertoire develop better than others. Albanian is still part of their repertoire even though these young immigrants do not speak it; it still exists but in a receptive form, according to Blommaert.

Findings support research literature on the decline of the language of origin in immigrant families, with the second generation likely to be monolingual in the dominant language (Myers-Scotton, 2006; Gogonas, 2009; Hatzidaki, 2005); that early exposure to L2 is detrimental to L1 maintenance (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Lightbown and Spada, 2006); that the language of communication between children is L2, regardless of the language they use when speaking to parents (Bettoni, 1981; Yagmur, 1997; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Clyne, 2003). My findings also make it necessary to rethink concept of *L1 and native language*, the use of which can be misleading in the context of globalized societies where "our 'real' language is very much a biographical given, the structure of which reflects our histories and those of the communities in which we spend our lives" (Blommaert, 2010:103).

I will close this sub-chapter with an overview of specific concepts I have presented throughout this thesis and their contribution to it, pointing out that all these concepts intended to present the multidimensional character of bilingualism. To begin with, in Chapter 1 I referred to the concept of globalization and one of its basic features, migration, and their relationship with language and culture (Appadurai, 1996). These concepts have been

significant for my research because they describe the context and set the socio-political, and sociolinguistic parameters that shape the macro-context of my research. These notions carry an impact on the repertoire of immigrant children like the research participants. It is in this context that their linguistic biographies are shaped and lead them to make certain linguistic choices. For instance, I have shown how features of globalization such as the advances in communication and technology or the ease of travel have made contact with their homeland easier providing the motivation for maintenance of Albanian. I have also exhibited the significance of the aspect of migration as a sociolinguistic subject-matter (Blommaert, 2010) with language contributing to the establishment of power mechanisms that create and maintain linguistic inequalities. In the case of the research participants these inequalities result to fragmented patterns of communication in Albanian since this language appears to be receding as the participants shift into Greek.

The presentation of different approaches to educating bilingual children were important in order to identify and evaluate the educational approaches that have been implemented in the Greek educational system. I have based this research on the significance of the way the individual handles his repertoire in language contact situations and the strategies he employs to communicate according to context (Matras, 2009). In the case of these participants the outcome of language contact involves shifting to Greek, with limited code switches in Albanian and preference for Greek in a process that indicates language shift into Greek for these second generation of Albanian immigrants. I have pointed out in many parts of this thesis how the submersion and mainstreaming policies in the educational system have played a crucial role in this process as they aim at the implicit assimilation of culturally/linguistically diverse students into the mainstream culture.

Superdiversity is another concept that has been used into the theoretical framework of this research. It might be argued that the concept of superdiversity might be a rather exaggerated term to describe the research context, such as the classes, the school and the community. It is not an exaggeration, however, to refer to superdiversity as a concept that describes the broader, macro-context of this research as Greece is becoming a more and more superdiverse environment, with the reception of a large number of immigrants and refugees. According to Coast Guard reports, in 2015 economic immigrants from 77 nationalities were settled in Greece and thousands of refugees in transit to Europe entered the country (Iefimerida, 2013b). In addition, the concept of superdiversity has provided its important characteristics and features to this research through its reconceptualization of the category of migrant and of notions such as competence, native speaker, mother tongue and the way it urges us to consider repertoires as indexical biographies (Blommaert and

Rampton, 2011). All these notions were found to be relevant to the situation of the research participants and proved valuable as principles that were used in the analysis of data.

Although the participants do not use Albanian as often or with the same competence as Greek, Garcia and Wei's (2014) notion of translanguaging can describe the way the participants handle their languages, at least in the home context. At home some may use a different language to communicate with specific members of the family -parents, grandparents or siblings- or when they talk about specific subjects. For instance, participant A3 uses Albanian to talk about something serious with his parents.

I have investigated the literature on the differences between the different types of bilingual acquisition in order to better understand the background and motivations for the linguistic choices the research participants make based on the theoretical framework of the type of bilingual acquisition that characterizes them. Similarly, the different patterns of early childhood bilingualism were significant in order to be able to identify and better understand the ways they handle their languages based on the relevant literature. The relationship between the language of immigrants and issues of identity was of equal significance as data indicated the importance of this relationship in the rationale for the participants' linguistic choices. The presentation of the various aspects of bilingualism provided crucial information for my eligibility as a researcher as it allowed me to acquire an overall picture of the concept. The literature about language shift provided the analytical frame work for the research data. The relevance of the factors that promote language shift was examined in relation to the collected data with all of them playing a role in the case of the shaping of repertoires for these research participants, except for group concentration.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion**

### **Introduction**

This chapter presents the conclusions of this research. Following the summary of the study, the main findings of the research with regard to the research questions are summarized and interpreted. In addition, the limitations of this study are considered and suggestions for further research are presented. The chapter will close with some recommendations for pedagogical implications of the research findings.

### **7.1. Summary of the study.**

The topic of this study is the linguistic impact of migration on the L1 in bilingual immigrant Albanian students in the Greek primary school system. Although a number of studies ( see for example Clyne, 2003; Raschka et al., 2002; Morita, 2007; Anderson, 2012; Al Khatib, 2001; De Klerk, 2000; Dweik, 2000; Linton, 2003; Lutz, 2006; Mackey, 2004) have examined the issue of language maintenance/shift, there has not been a strong focus on bilingual behaviour of immigrant children in non-English speaking countries. Also, little has been published on Albanian immigrant children in Greece. Therefore, the choice of the research sample was based on the fact that this ethnolinguistic group constitutes a large majority among immigrant groups in Greece and that the education of Albanian immigrant children poses a long-lasting challenge for the Greek schools. Research on this particular group is limited and at the same time necessary in order to better comprehend the situation and respond to the challenges it presents to the Greek educational system.

As such, this study provides additional insights into individual child bilingualism and migration focusing on this particular ethnolinguistic group. In doing so it draws strongly on the work of Blommaert (2010) who challenges us to rethink traditional classifications such as ‘first’ and ‘second language’ or ‘native speakers’ in the context of a globalized world. It owes a factual and interpretative debt to Clyne (2003) and Garcia (2009) who have provided the research foundation for this study with their work on language shift and bilingual education respectively. Much is owed to Matras (2009) for providing the main theoretical premise through the assumption that in order to comprehend the consequences of language contact on language use, shape, and structure it is important to explore the strategies that the bilingual child employs while managing his linguistic repertoire. Finally, it adopted Blommaert and Backus’ view that “repertoires in a super-diverse world are records of mobility: of movement of people, language resources, social arenas, technologies of learning and learning environments” (Blommaert and Backus, 2011:22).

In other respects, this research has benefited from the studies carried out by Gogonas (2009) and Hatzidaki (2005) who present the issue of language shift and the models of bilingual behaviour of the ethnolinguistic group under study from a different research perspective. The authors have investigated the issue with quantitative and ethnolinguistic instruments (Hatzidaki, 2005) or in combination with a qualitative method (interviews) of older research subjects (Gogonas, 2009). As I will explain below, my findings correlate with findings in those previous studies, adding to our knowledge on issues pertaining to bilingualism and migration.

The present study was based on qualitative data gathered by applying two methods of data collection: the construction of the research subjects' language biographies and recordings of informal interaction among them. It differs from previous studies in language maintenance/shift of young Albanian immigrants in Greece, firstly, by identifying the patterns of communication of a group of second generation Albanian immigrant students in the field of action: informal interaction among them. In addition, it differs by constructing the research subjects' language biographies in an attempt to investigate how their linguistic background affects language choice for this group at an individual level. What this study does compared with previous studies (Gogonas, 2009; Hatzidaki, 2005) is to present a closer perspective on the issue of language choice and use by Albanian immigrant children with a more consistently maintained qualitative research methodology, a greater attention to the immigrant children's linguistic background and a fuller sense of the range of the patterns of language choice and use. Thus, the value of this research lies both in the selection of the group under study and in the research methodology; findings from the two methods are complementary with each other, increasing internal validity. Data collected through interviews with the participants and their language biographies were tested and either verified or disproved through data collected from the recordings of informal interaction.

In the introductory chapter I described how in situations like Greece, where there are no L1 learning opportunities for immigrant children and the educational system does not take into consideration their linguistic background, there is often a significant slow-down of L1 or even shift into L2. In chapters 2 and 3, I have described how the education of bilingual students with such diverse backgrounds constitutes a challenge for the Greek educational system, resulting in implicit assimilation of young immigrants into the host culture. Findings from previous studies correlated with my assessments of the present situation, emphasizing the inadequacy of the policies provided by the Ministry of Education that reflect the national policies of the governments, the role of the teachers' attitudes and ideologies and the fragmented, inadequate structures of the education of immigrant students that render the

possibilities of teaching L1 as minimal (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; Milesi and Pashaliori, 2008; Mitakidou et al., 2009; Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011; European Commission, 2013; Hatzidaki, 2005).

The investigation of the participants' patterns of communication concluded that the Albanian part in the bilingual repertoires of the children is fragmented even for the group of LB. Qualitative data revealed low levels of competence and use of Albanian, although the participants were initially reluctant to acknowledge this; a reluctance that was explained as bearing a symbolic function. More specifically, the investigation of the patterns of communication revealed that the participants in both groups have either none or limited use of Albanian, carried out mainly in the home context and only with adults, with parents either failing or being unwilling to transmit their ethnic language to these second generation young immigrants.

These findings are congruent with previous research by Gogonas (2009) and Hatzidaki (2005). Gogonas finds that "language choices with various interlocutors depend on their linguistic competence in the ethnic language: as this linguistic competence is declining, so is the use of the ethnic language" (Gogonas, 2009:107). What differs in the findings of the present study is lack of evidence for the young Albanians' tendency to "'hide' their knowledge of Albanian. This tendency on the part of Albanian pupils to avoid speaking Albanian is best explained as a reaction to the stigmatisation of their ethnic group, as discussed earlier. The Albanian pupils, not wishing to associate with a stigmatised group and language, downplay their knowledge of Albanian, and consequently use Greek" (Gogonas, 2009:104). In my research, however, the participants not only claimed a higher competence in Albanian than it was finally revealed to be really happening, but also verified this finding with their language use during the recorded interaction. There were, however, indications of feelings of stigmatization of their ethnic group in the interview responses.

Findings of the present study highlighted the role of television programmes in Albanian in promoting language maintenance. Participants from both groups stated that watching programmes in Albanian has contributed to the development of their reading and writing skills. Furthermore, for some of the participants in the EB group watching Albanian programmes on satellite TV is the only method of L1 learning. This finding correlated with research literature on how availability of L1 media affects language maintenance as they enhance contact with the culture of the sending country, whereas they provide assistance in order to learn both languages, that of the receiving and the sending country (Esser, 2006; Anderson, 2012; Ammon, 2010; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Cruickshank, 2004).



This study was designed to address specific research questions that I proposed in the introductory chapter. I will return to these questions in the following subchapter and discuss the findings in response to them.

## **7.2. Responding to the research questions.**

Regarding the first research question “do Albanian children in Greece retain their L1?” chapter 6 demonstrates that many of the participants in the EB group have not really acquired Albanian. The group of LB also uses Greek mostly because Albanian is receding due to lack of input, lack of support of Albanian and the need to assimilate in the Greek culture. The use of Albanian is limited to parents and grandparents as interlocutors and in the home context. Some of the participants may code-switch for symbolic reasons, in order to keep the message secret from non-Albanians, or when they do not know the Greek word for something, as data from the recorded interaction revealed. Some of the participants may have acquired competence in Albanian as far as it concerns the spoken language, but there are very few signs of literacy. Their only way to learn the Albanian alphabet and how to read in Albanian is through educational programmes and subtitles on satellite TV. Added to that, their cultural and linguistic background is ignored by the inadequate structures of the educational system that reflect the national policies. Therefore, it can be concluded that findings reveal clear signs of language shift for these young immigrants.

These conclusions correlate with research on how asymmetrical bilingualism leads to subtractive bilingualism and may eventually result in language shift (Romaine, 2010; Garcia, 2009; Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Wei, 2000). They are also in harmony with literature that finds how although first generation immigrants may not become bilingual, the second generation are likely to be monolingual in the dominant language (Myers-Scotton, 2006) and how early exposure to L2 for long periods of time results in a significant slow-down for L1 (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Lightbown and Spada, 2006). Literature has found that children are agents of language shift in many studies on ethnolinguistic minority groups where the language of communication between children is L2, regardless of the language they use when speaking to parents (Bettoni, 1981; Yagmur, 1997; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Clyne, 2003). Gogonas also found that “quantitative and qualitative data on children’s language competence and on patterns of language use within Albanian households indicate that the Albanian ethnolinguistic group is undergoing rapid language shift” with the Albanian language assuming “a purely symbolic function for the second generation” (Gogonas, 2009: 107).

This thesis builds on and contributes to work in the field of the linguistic phenomena of language choice, maintenance and shift through an investigation from the aspect of individual bilingualism. It has made specific contributions to the literature on language contact between Albanian and Greek, focusing on the bilingual repertoire of the ethnolinguistic group of Albanian immigrants in Greece, since research in this area is still limited. What this thesis adds to the knowledge on the issue of language contact is, firstly, how factors such as the early age of arrival in Greece, the lack of input of Albanian, the parents' failure or reluctance to transmit the Albanian language and the absence of instruction of Albanian in the Greek educational system contribute to the phenomenon of language shift from Albanian into Greek. Secondly, this study described how the Albanian part of the young immigrants' repertoire has become fragmented and is used for symbolic reasons. Thirdly, findings of this thesis underlined the role of satellite TV as a factor of language maintenance. Finally, this study provided evidence in support of the need to reconsider the traditional concepts of *L1*, *native language*, and characterizations such as *native speaker* in the literature of bilingualism, as a result of the prevailing conditions of new migration and globalization.

In response to the second research question "in which context and with whom do Albanian immigrant children in Greece use their L1?" the study found that Greek is the language of communication with siblings and friends. Only with adults, their parents and grandparents, the participants use Albanian in the home context and some of them also use it when they visit Albania. The use of Albanian is mainly carried out in fragmented patterns of communication because the majority of the participants have not acquired this language effectively due to factors such as the early age of arrival in Greece, the lack of input of Albanian, the parents' failure or reluctance to transmit the Albanian language and the absence of instruction of Albanian in the Greek educational system.

Another important finding concerned the importance of the interlocutor in the participants' daily interaction as a factor that determined their patterns of language use/choice; as such, communication with grandparents, who lack knowledge of the Greek language, emerged as a reason to maintain Albanian for some of the research participants. The patterns of communication tend to differ between generations, with the grandparents remaining monolingual in Albanian and parents mainly monolingual in Albanian with each other, but using both Albanian and Greek or Greek only with their children. The participants, on the other hand, use Greek predominantly. They are monolingual in Greek when they communicate with people from the same generation at school or at home, but may use both languages when they communicate with their parents and some use Albanian only to

communicate with the grandparents. It should be noted, however, that the use of Albanian is not easy for the majority of the participants, especially for the EB group, whereas exposure to Albanian is limited to the home domain, as it was demonstrated in chapter 6.

Another significant conclusion stemmed from the difficulty to identify the L1 of the Early Bilinguals' (EB) group who came to Greece at infancy, at a pre-school age or were born in Greece. It was not easy to verify whether these children first spoke Albanian or Greek or both. This study found that it cannot be taken for granted that the participants' L1 is Albanian, in other words the parents' language or the language of the country of origin. Therefore, the notion of "mother tongue" or "first language" becomes even more controversial when it addresses these second generation, modern migrants' languages.

These findings are in line with literature on bilingualism in many aspects. First of all, they are consistent with Blommaert's (2010) view that in the globalized society competence constitutes a rather relative concept since the individual may lack the acquisition of the resources that lead to language learning. As a result, fragmented repertoires with varying degrees of development are constructed where the parents' language may constitute part of the children's repertoire but only in receptive form, as it happened with the participants in this study. In addition, the difficulty to identify the first language for the EB group is broadly in line with those of researchers such as Myers-Scotton (2006) and Blommaert and Dong (2010) who propose that within the context of migration "native" languages have become complex, multilingual patterns of language use. The characterization of "perfect" speaker is questioned by Blommaert (2010) who states that immigrant children tend to be much better in speaking the language of the host society since parts of their multilingual repertoires may develop more while others remain at basic level.

The identification of the need to communicate with grandparents in Albanian as one of the factors that promote language maintenance is consistent with previous research (see for example Clyne, 2003) stating that for many immigrant groups languages are maintained due to the need to communicate with older group members as the grandparent generation lacks proficiency in the dominant contact language. Furthermore, the patterns of communication correlate with literature (see for example Romaine, 2010) that points out the occurrence of differences in generations within the same community; the older generation retains L1 and the younger one becomes monolingual in L2 even when parents maintain their L1. Romaine (2010) argues that even second generation immigrant children are dominant in L2 as exposure to L2 outside the home domain is intense in comparison to the minimal exposure to the parents' language at home. Research has also found that communication between

children tends to be L2, no matter what language they use when speaking to parents (Bettoni, 1981; Yagmur, 1997; Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Clyne, 2003).

Findings of this thesis also revealed a disparity between the participants' claims regarding their use and competence in Albanian and what it was found to be really happening according to data. The participants claimed that they used the parents' language but the reality was far more complex. Interview responses showed that this attitude may be a strategy of the child's identity construction and an effort to indicate maintenance of Albanian within a framework of symbolic use of L1, solidarity to their family and to their ethnolinguistic group. The participants' deliberate use of code-switching may be a strategy to indicate in-group identity (Wardhaugh, 2006; Gardner-Chloros, 2010).

With regard to the research question "which factors determine language choice for the group of young Albanian immigrants and how does the students' linguistic background affect second language learning?", and sub-question "what is their attitude towards L1?", in chapter 6 I have demonstrated the incentives and the conditions the participants' patterns of communication stem from. Findings indicated that the participants' age is a basic factor in determining language use, especially the age of arrival and of exposure to the Greek language. The use of Albanian differs between the two groups investigated and so does their level of competence in it, with Greek gaining even more ground in the EB group than it does in the LB. In addition, the frequency of input in Greek, as well as the absence of transmission of Albanian by some of the parents also constitute important factors that determine language use. According to the interviews, some of the participants believe that Greek is considered by the parents as the necessary language for social mobility.

Psychological and social reasons also play a role; some of the participants are reluctant to maintain Albanian because they have assimilated to the Greek culture. The context is also important as a factor of language choice/use, but in conjunction with the interlocutor. Thus, the context where Albanian is used is the home but, depending on the interlocutor, Greek may also be used. On the other hand, the ease of transport, access to Albanian media such as satellite TV and the possibility of returning to the country of origin were identified as factors that promote the maintenance of Albanian. These findings are broadly in line with literature that identifies educational reasons and lack of support of L1 (see for example, Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Cummins, 2000) as factors that affect L1 maintenance or decline, along with psychological (see for example, Gogonas, 2009) and sociopolitical ones (see for example, Grosjean and Li, 2013). The research findings are also associated with literature that found how parental language ideologies and attitudes influence the children's

language use and the patterns of language use in the home (Lanza, 2007; De Houwer, 2009a; Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006) as well as how language status affects language contact and language choice (Hickey, 2010; Yamamoto, 2001). Findings also seem to back up De Houwer's (2009b) assertions about how peer pressure and higher frequency of input of the societal language play an important role in language use. As a final point, findings that identify visits to Albania, the ease of travel, the possibility of returning there in the future, as well as the contribution of Albanian satellite TV as factors that promote the maintenance of Albanian are in harmony with literature that describes how *new migration* is associated with advances in communications and information technology that enable immigrants to maintain contacts with their country of origin, rendering the mobility of people as mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources (Blommaert, 2010).

In response to the question "how does the students' linguistic background affect second language learning?", the nature of my data does not allow me to determine how the participants' linguistic background affects second language learning as Albanian is ignored in the Greek school and often considered a problem for the student. In fact, data revealed exactly the opposite: it is the learning of Greek that has an impact on Albanian, inducing a slow-down of L1 to these young immigrants and even a shift into L2. The only indication that previous formal instruction of L1 might enhance the learning of Greek is participant's A2 (who arrived in Greece at an older age than the other participants) remarkable progress in speaking Greek throughout the two years in the host country. However, data from the present study did not provide any evidence for or against this argument and only further research into the participants' academic performance might provide safe conclusions on the matter.

### **7.3. Limitations of the study.**

This study investigates the patterns of language use for a group of Albanian immigrant children in Greece and the role of L1 in their repertoires. It is not the purpose of this study to provide generalizable conclusions for all Albanian and/or all immigrant students, but rather to expand our understanding not only of this particular language group, but also of the linguistic and social phenomenon of language shift and of relevant issues in the area of bilingualism and migration.

It should be borne in mind that the study had to deal with a number of limitations with regard to the research methodology. To begin with, the implications of the setting where the research was carried out had to be considered. As the research setting was the school, it was possible that data collected through both interviews and the recordings of interaction

might have been affected by it. School is the place where correct answers are supposed to be given in general terms, so the participants might feel the obligation to submit what the researcher/interviewer might consider as “correct” answers instead of what is actually true. On these grounds, the school setting that constitutes a Greek-monolingual context could affect the linguistic choices during the recorded interaction. Appropriate measures were taken to minimize the risks, ensure that participants understood that all responses were equally acceptable, establishing a rapport and providing the conditions for a casual, informal setting where the participants could express themselves as freely as possible. The participants’ age was another possible limitation. It was therefore of vital importance to follow the principles and ethics guidelines regarding the use of children as research participants.

The researcher’s and interviewer’s Greek nationality might have affected data in terms of the language used, reinforcing the Greek monolingual context and affecting the participants’ responses during the interviews. It might also have an impact on data analysis and interpretation as these might be affected by personal bias and stereotypes towards the ethnolinguistic group of Albanian immigrants. Therefore, I relied on oral data and retained the participants’ voice and perspective involving them in the interpretation of data and thought critically of my role as a researcher during the whole process.

The difficulty to identify the speaker in the recorded interaction was dealt with the help of the participants themselves whenever that was necessary. The same happened when there was the need for translation of the recorded interaction. In addition, two young Albanians who had been my students in the past helped me with the translation of instances of Albanian in the recordings. However, some extracts that included Albanian, such as songs and rhymes, could not be transcribed with accuracy despite the participants’ help.

During the data analysis, it was obvious that at specific points where some of the participants were aware of the fact that they were being recorded, they spoke Albanian deliberately, even though what they said did not always make sense. I had to consider whether I should include such extracts in the data or exclude them in order to ensure internal validity. Eventually, I decided to include these extracts as they revealed the participants’ attitude towards Albanian and provided significant information about the symbolic use of this language.

#### **7.4. Implications**

This study presented how the individual handles his bilingual repertoire in a situation when the language of origin comes to contact with the dominant language of the host society. It revealed the conditions and incentives that shape the immigrant child’s bilingual repertoire

and the factors that promote the maintenance or shift. This thesis presented how the bilingual individual's patterns of communication are shaped in time and place, as well as the factors that promote the maintenance and shift of a language. The need to maintain contact with the country of origin through the media, the parents' role in transmitting the language, the significance of the 'home' language, the visits to the country of origin and the need of networks in order to maintain contact with the country of origin and its language have emerged as significant strategies for language maintenance. In addition, the present study offers evidence for signs of shift from Albanian into Greek due to lack of input as a result of the limited number of interlocutors, lack of transmission of Albanian to the second generation of young immigrants and absence of support of the Albanian language in a context of asymmetrical bilingualism.

The pedagogical implications of my findings appear to support the argument for a change in the educational policy so that it responds to these young immigrants' needs and "developing pedagogies that use and valorize the full range of children's linguistic, cultural, multimodal, embodied and transnational resources and experiences" (Lytra. 2014:264). Their education should follow an approach that does not regard their linguistic background as a deficit, but acknowledges their diversity and uses it in order to achieve their successful integration and offer them equal academic opportunities. The principles of cross-cultural education need to be implemented in terms of content and teaching approaches (Mitakidou et al., 2009) in all the school units and not just in the intercultural schools so that the majority population's perceptions of diversity and multiculturalism are transformed as well (Gropas and Triantafyllidou, 2011). On the face of it, this would suggest that parent' attitudes and teachers' ideologies should change, recognizing the significance of the instruction of the immigrant pupils' heritage language (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015) and the benefits of additive bilingualism as opposed to the present situation of exclusion of heritage languages and promotion of monolingualism.

This research has offered another aspect on the issue of the linguistic impact of migration investigating it through the situation of Albanian immigrant children in Greece. In order to comprehend its implications -which surpass the Greek borders as I will explain below- it is important to consider the macro context, the current, global situation of movements of populations, especially to Europe as well as our role as educators. According to Piller (2016), the UNESCO reports on educational quality mention a global crisis in learning since factors such as poverty, location, gender and ethnicity result to large disparities among different countries. These reports find that 40% of primary school children leave school without basic knowledge on subjects like mathematics or reading. As Piller remarks, the school's hidden

curriculum for social reproduction that aims at maintaining and perpetuating the socioeconomic order persists. This is why educational policies in many countries suppress the linguistically diverse students by mainstreaming them into the dominant language. Their teaching methods include teaching the second language and concepts at the same time resulting in failure to learn the new language, while the language of origin is receding. Students are led to school dropouts which, according to Piller, are “the most powerful predictors of lifelong exclusion from socioeconomic security” (Piller, 2016:123). The author proposes teaching L2 as a foreign language instead; this way both languages would be fostered and there would be more opportunities for academic success. Submersion methods not only have poor academic outcomes even for L2 but are related to mental health problems (Piller, 2016; Han and Huang, 2010). According to their study, Han and Huang find that proficiency in the home language is related to fewer problems for balanced bilinguals and L1 dominant bilinguals compared to L2 dominant. But one cannot help but wonder what our societies will be like in the future if we keep excluding whole generations by not providing them equal educational and occupational opportunities.

Considering all the above, the implications of this research are important not only for Greece as a country that has received a large number of immigrants in the past; while these lines are being written, Greece like many other European countries is receiving large numbers of refugees and immigrants as a result of the war in Syria. Thousands of children arrive in the receiving countries with the hope for a better life as societies are changing so fast that circumstances appear to be ahead of policy planning. National policies and personal opinions that either favour or disregard these movements aside, these children will eventually claim the right to education and we should respond by offering them equal opportunities in order to construct the future societies. This is where my research can prove valuable as through the study of the Greek situation, not only the Greek teacher but any teacher who stands in front of a culturally diverse student body, will be in a position to identify what happens when the cultural and linguistic background is considered an obstacle. I strongly agree with Piller (2016) as she points out how school plays a key role in the education and the creation of opportunities for the next generation. The current situation is in fact a transformational period that poses great challenges as policy makers are asked to make decisions that will determine the structure of the future societies. Through exclusion, education will only nurture discrimination and hatred among cultures leading to insecurity as populations experience the need to preserve their heritage whereas the receiving societies experience the need to defend their present status. Only through educational policies of inclusion that foster multilingualism can we obtain positive academic sociocultural and behavioral results in order to create a healthy, productive and safe society.



### **7.5. Future directions.**

My findings indicate a tendency towards language shift but further research into how the patterns of language use change through time as the participants grow from childhood to puberty is necessary in order to confirm the phenomenon of language shift for these second generation young immigrants. Future research into patterns of language use might usefully focus in particular on how Albanian is used in the home context with parents, grandparents and siblings. Recordings of interaction among family members would provide useful information on the conditions that determine language use and the reasons for unsuccessful transmission of Albanian. Another avenue for further study would be research into the parents' ideologies regarding the significance of the maintenance of Albanian and the reasons for its unsuccessful transmission. Finally, I think that another possible area for further research includes the participants' academic performance in Greek and how it is affected by the linguistic background.

### **7.6. Conclusion.**

This study has indicated the declining use of the Albanian language in the family and friendship networks as well as of its transgenerational transmission for these young immigrants. Of equal importance are the social conditions and whether they provide support for the Albanian language as a means of communication for this ethnolinguistic group, a symbol of cultural and ethnic identity and a way to maintain connections with one's heritage (García, 2003). The findings of this study have a place in the field of Applied Linguistics as a discipline that focuses on social areas where language plays a role (LSA, 2015); the possibility that language might induce obstacles upon the culturally and linguistically diverse individuals in their pursue of full and effective participation in educational opportunities is a harsh reality in globalized societies. It is through the application of research findings that a full understanding of issues pertaining to individual bilingualism can be achieved and the mitigation of such obstacles can be accomplished.

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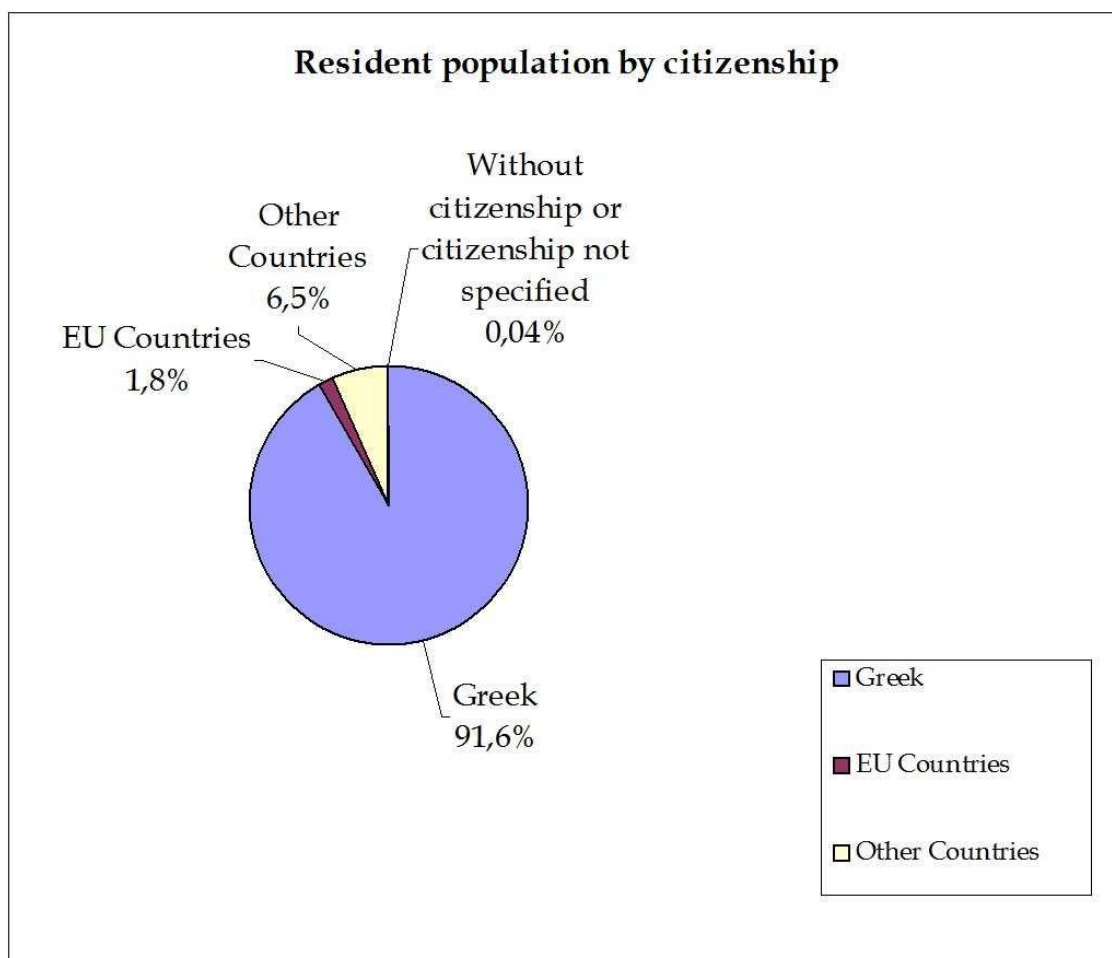
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## APPENDIX 1

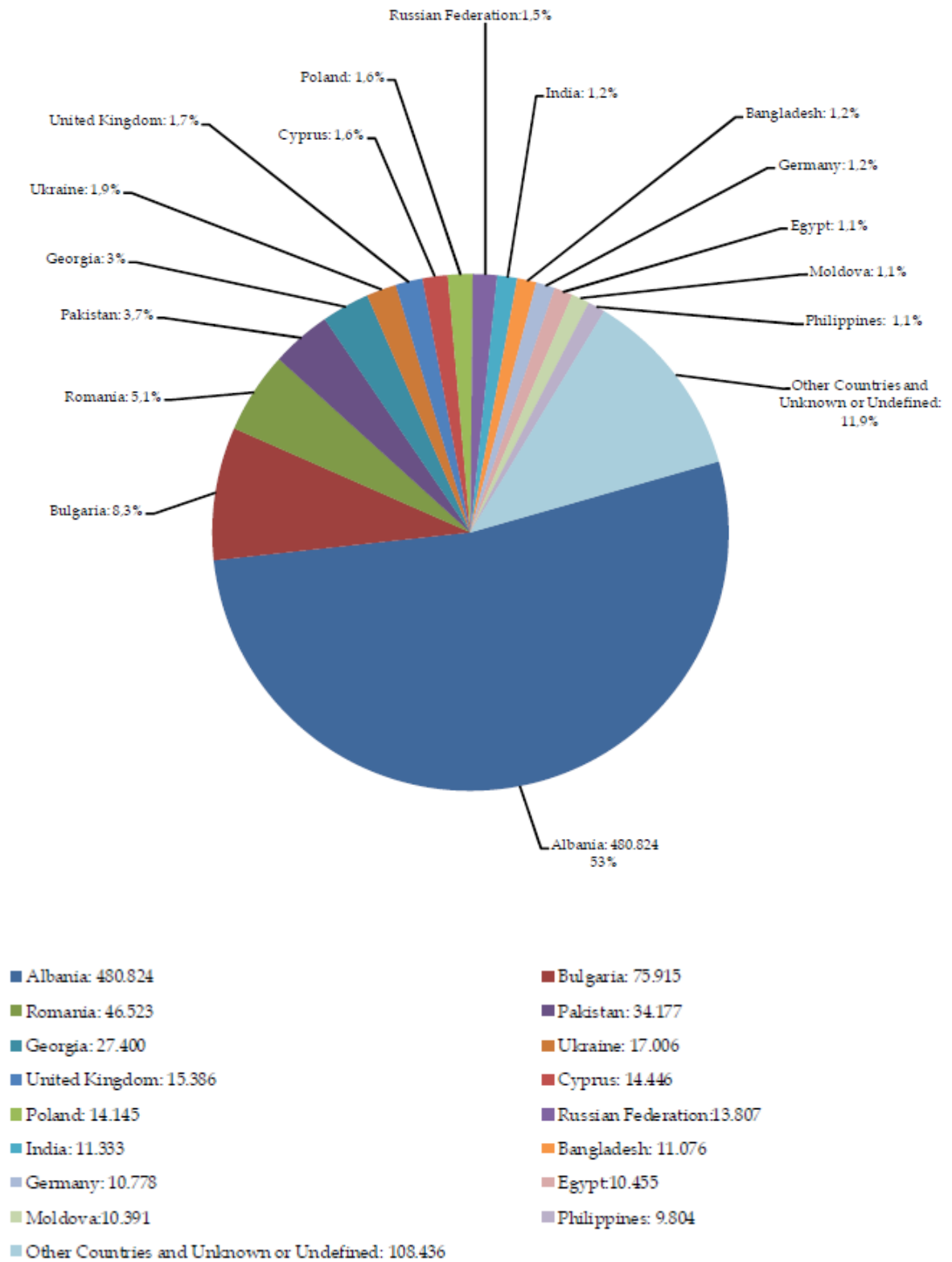
**Graph 1: Resident population in Greece by citizenship**



Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority (EL.STAT), 2014.

## APPENDIX 2

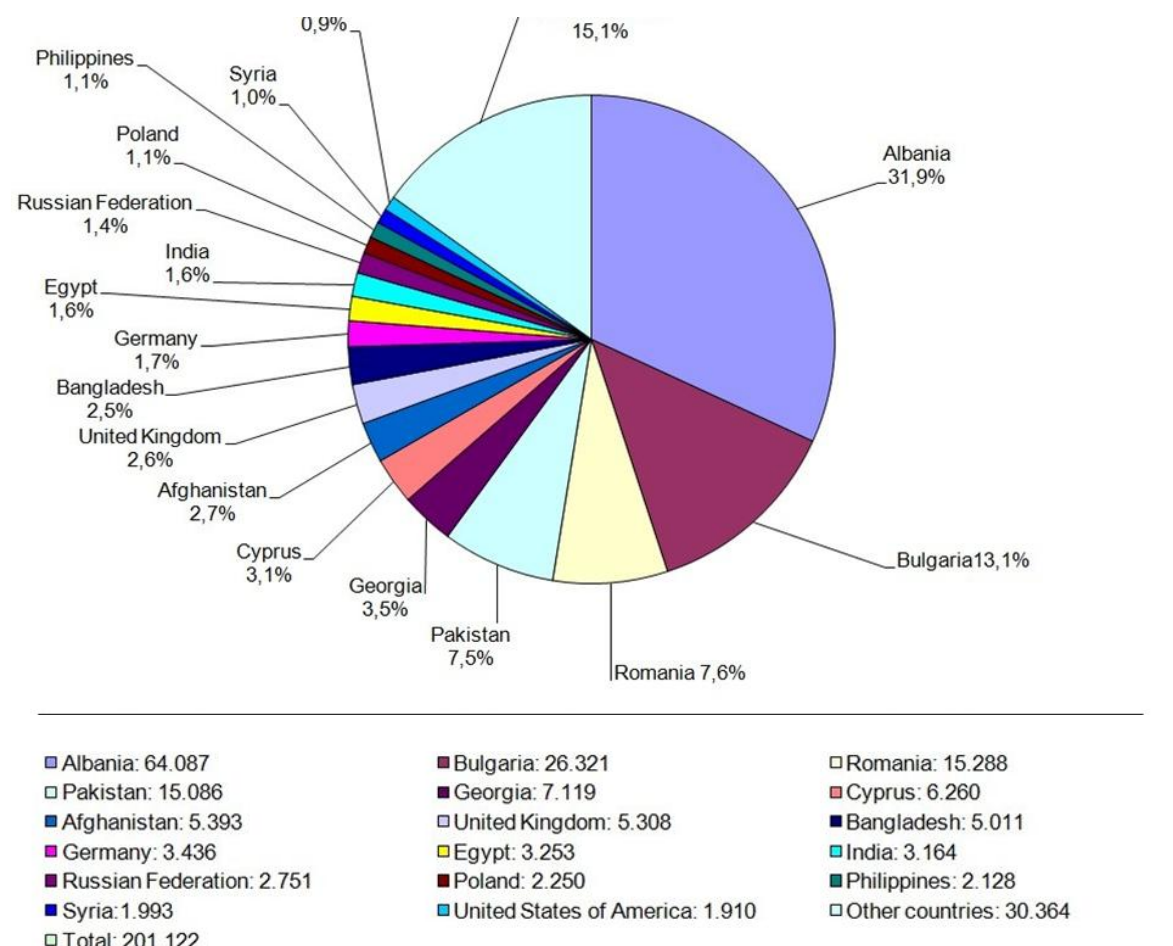
**Graph 2: foreign resident population in Greece by citizenship**



Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority EL.STAT, 2014 (ELSTAT.gr)

### APPENDIX 3

**Graph 3: Country of origin of immigrants with foreign citizenship who settled in Greece during the five last years before the Census of 2011.**



Source: Hellenic Statistical Authority ELSTAT, 2014 (ELSTAT.gr)

## APPENDIX 4

### TABLES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN GREECE

**Table 1: Foreign students in Greek primary schools per country of origin.**

<b>Total</b>	<b>Albania</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Other EU countries</b>	<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Rest of Europe</b>	<b>Former USSR</b>	<b>Arab countries</b>	<b>Rest of Asia</b>
33226	23563	167	5038	161	11	185	646	1059
<b>USA-Canada</b>	<b>Rest of America</b>	<b>S. Africa</b>	<b>Rest of Africa</b>	<b>Oceania</b>	<b>Unknown</b>			
65	67	6	118	5	505			

**School year: 2010-2011**

**Table 2: Foreign students in Greek primary schools per country of birth  
School year: 2010-2011**

<b>Total</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Albania</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Other EU countries</b>	<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Rest of Europe</b>	<b>Former USSR</b>	<b>Arab countries</b>
75415	42190	23868	183	5123	155	12	1836	661
<b>Rest of Asia</b>	<b>USA-Canada</b>	<b>Rest of America</b>	<b>S. Africa</b>	<b>Rest of Africa</b>	<b>Oceania</b>	<b>Unknown</b>		
1082	70	68	7	115	5	40		

**Table 3: Foreign students in Greek primary schools per citizenship.  
School year: 2010-2011**

<b>Total</b>	<b>Greek</b>	<b>Albanian</b>	<b>German</b>	<b>Other EU countries</b>	<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Rest of Europe</b>	<b>Former USSR</b>	<b>Arab countries</b>
75415	187	59012	183	7970	285	17	3313	1786
<b>Rest of Asia</b>	<b>USA-Canada</b>	<b>Rest of America</b>	<b>S. Africa</b>	<b>Rest of Africa</b>	<b>Oceania</b>	<b>Unknown</b>		
1791	69	78	9	386	8	141		

Source: ELSTAT <http://www.statistics.gr/statistics/-/publication/SED13/>

## APPENDIX 5

### The Bilingualism Glossary

1. **Additive bilingual:** the situation when the 2<sup>nd</sup> language does not interfere with the 1<sup>st</sup> and both languages are developed (Edwards, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006, Mackey, 2004, 2006; Baker, 2006).
2. **Ascendant bilingual:** the situation when only L2 is developing (Baker, 2006; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000).
3. **Asymmetrical bilingualism:** the situation when under the pressure of a dominant group towards subordinate ones, language contact may result in language shift (Romaine, 2010).
4. **Attrition:** a phenomenon that is common in children that are members of ethnolinguistic minority groups that shift into the language they learn at school (Hamers and Blanc, 2004) "While 'language shift' denotes the loss of language functions, forms and skills between generations, 'attrition' refers to the loss of language functions, forms and skills in individuals over time" (Hamers and Blanc, 2004:301). Also "...the loss of a first -or later- acquired language, or portion of that language, by individual speakers. It can happen at any point in time during an individual's life span because the necessary contact with speakers of that language is lacking over a lengthy period" (Wei, 2013:34).
5. **Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA):** a term that is based on studies of bilingual children who were exposed to two languages from birth (Meisel, 1994; De Houwer, 1990). Also referred to as "*bilingualism as a first language*" (Baker, 2006; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000) or *two first languages*" (Romaine, 1995). It implies spontaneous acquisition of language through exposure without effort or instruction (Genesee & Nicoladis, 2006; Matras, 2009).
6. **Bilingual:** "A bilingual is a person who can carry on at least casual conversations on everyday topics in a second language" (Myers-Scotton, 2006:65)
7. **Bilingualism:** "the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation" (Myers-Scotton, 2006:44). Also, "the native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield, 1933: 56) and the "psychological and social states of individuals or groups of people that result from interactions via language in which two or more linguistic codes (including dialects) are used for communication" (Butler and Hakuta, 2004:115).



8. **Borrowing:** “the integration of one language into another” (Grosjean & Li, 2013: 18). “Borrowing is almost entirely one way, from the most prestigious language to the less prestigious one” (Myers-Scotton, 2006:211).
9. **Circumstantial bilingual:** the situation when learning L2 is a matter of necessity in order to survive in the new environment /country and L2 replaces L1 (Valdes and Figueroa, 1994).
10. **Code-mixing:** “the use of elements (phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic) from two languages in the same utterance or stretch of conversation” Genesee and Nicoladis, 2006:12). Also defined as the combination of elements from each language based on the early research assumption that the speaker is not able to differentiate between the two languages (Garcia, 2009).
11. **Code-switching:** “the alternate use of languages, that is, the speaker makes a complete shift to the other language and then reverts back to the base language” (Grosjean & Li, 2013: 18). Clyne (2003) distinguishes code-switching (where the switch and the code carry a symbolic meaning and function) from *alternation* or variety/language switching (where the switch and code do not carry any communicative meaning).
12. **Compound bilingual:** the situation when the individual has learned the languages in the same context and has access to one semantic system but two linguistic codes. (Heredia and Brown, 2004; Altarriba and Morier, 2004, 2006; Matras, 2009; Butler and Hakuta, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000).
13. **Conversational code-switching** “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982: 59).
14. **Coordinate bilingual:** the situation when the individual has learned the languages in a different context, such as one at school and one at home, and keeps words and concepts in each language separate in his mind (Heredia and Brown, 2004; Altarriba and Morier, 2004, 2006; Matras, 2009; Butler and Hakuta, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000).
15. **Core borrowings:** the outcome of intensive contact and for words that duplicate words that already exist in the recipient language entering the language lexicon (Myers-Scotton, 2006).
16. **Critical Age Hypothesis:** the hypothesis that children acquire any language to which they are exposed until about the age of puberty and that, due to the development of the human brain, older learners may depend on learning abilities that are not as effective for language learning as the innate abilities of young children (Lightbown and Spada, 2006).

17. **Cultural borrowings:** words that stand for objects or concepts that are new to the recipient culture (Myers-Scotton, 2006)
18. **Dominant bilingual:** the individual who is more proficient in one of the two languages (Romaine 1995; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000; Grosjean, 2004, 2006; Butler and Hakuta, 2004).
19. **Dormant bilingual:** the individual who knows a language that they never use in everyday life (Wei, 2000; Butler and Hakuta, 2004, 2006; Grosjean, 1999).
20. **Early bilingual:** the individual who acquired the two languages before the age of 4 or 6 (Baker, 2006; Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Wei, 2000; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Matras, 2009; Genesee et al., 1978; Butler and Hakuta, 2004, 2006; Myers-Scotton, 2006)
21. **Early Second Language Acquisition:** applies to children who were exposed to a second language at pre-school age (Genesee & Nicoladis, 2006; Matras, 2009).
22. **Elective bilingual:** the situation when learning L2 is a matter of choice, usually through instruction and without affecting L1 (Garcia, 2009; Baker, 2006).
23. **Elite bilingualism:** the situation of a person who becomes bilingual as an indication of social status (Garcia, 2009; Romaine, 1995; Edwards, 2004, 2006).
24. **Folk bilingualism:** the situation when learning a second language is not a matter of choice but a necessity due to social conditions under which L1 is not favoured (Garcia, 2009; Romaine, 1995; Edwards, 2004, 2006).
25. **Incipient bilingual:** when the individual is still in the early stages of language development (Edwards, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006, Mackey, 2004, 2006; Baker, 2006).
26. **Individual bilingualism / "bilinguality":** bilingualism as an individual characteristic in situations when the individual has access to two language codes in order to communicate (Hamers and Blanc, 2004).
27. **Interlanguage:** the unique product of the interaction of the two languages for each speaker (Butler and Hakuta, 2004).
28. **Inter-sentential code-switching:** when the switch takes place at the sentence/clause boundary (Garcia, 2009; Wardhaugh, 2006; Saville-Troike, 2003).
29. **Intra-sentential code-switching:** when the switch takes place within word boundaries or different types of switch take place within sentence/clause boundary (Garcia, 2009; Wardhaugh, 2006; Saville-Troike, 2003).
30. **Language contact:** a metaphor implying contact between bilingual or multilingual speakers (Matras, 2009).
31. **Language death:** "When the group's language ceases to be spoken by its members we have a case of 'language death', even though the language may continue to be

spoken somewhere else. The ethnic identity of the group may survive if its language is not one of its core values” (Hamers and Blanc, 2004:297) .

32. **Language shift:** a phenomenon that refers to language behavior of a whole community, subgroup or individual and implies a gradual process that denotes a change in one of the following: the main language, the dominant language of a group or an individual, the language of one or more domains, the exclusive language for between one and the three of the language skills (Clyne, 2003). Also, “a situation in which over a period of time a social group gives up the use of its first language and replaces it by another spoken in the society” (Hamers and Blanc, 2004:316).
33. **Late bilingual:** the individual who acquired the two languages after the age of 12 years old (Baker, 2006; Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Wei, 2000; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Matras, 2009; Genesee et al., 1978; Butler and Hakuta, 2004, 2006; Myers-Scotton, 2006).
34. **Metaphorical code-switching:** when a change of topic requires a change in the language used (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Wardhaugh, 2006).
35. **Motivated code-switching:** when the switches from one language to the other are deliberate (DeBot, 2002).
36. **Performance code-switching:** when the switches from one language to the other are unintentional (DeBot, 2002).
37. **Pidginization** in second language acquisition: the result of the learner’s failure to acculturate, in other words to adapt to the new culture, failure being a matter of either ability or choice (Ellis, 1997).
38. **Productive bilingual:** the individual who uses both languages although this term does not necessarily imply that the individual is necessarily able to both write and speak the two languages with equal proficiency (Beardsmore, 1986; Baker, 2006).
39. **Psychological distance:** a situation which is caused by psychological factors, language shock and lack of motivation, impeding L2 acquisition (Ellis, 1997).
40. **Receptive bilingual:** when the individual is able to understand a second language without being able to speak or write it (Edwards, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000; Myers-Scotton, 2006, Mackey, 2004, 2006; Baker, 2006).
41. **Recessive bilingual:** the situation when L1 is developing (Baker, 2006; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000).
42. **Second Language Acquisition or late acquisition:** acquisition of language at a later stage than pre-school age or through formal instruction (Genesee & Nicoladis, 2006; Matras, 2009).
43. **Semilingual:** the individual who has no competency or has insufficient knowledge of either language and is associated with underachievement and the self-fulfilling

prophecy (a term with negative academic/ political/ socioeconomic connotations) (Baker, 2006; Wei, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Valdés and Figueroa, 1994; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Grosjean, 2004, 2006).

44. **Semilingualism** or **limited bilingualism**: terms that refer to a problematic aspect of bilingualism: the situation when the individual fails to achieve adequate levels of proficiency in either language and therefore suffers the consequences in his academic and cognitive development (Cummins, 1976, 1979; MacSwan, 2000; Baker, 2006; Wei, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Valdés and Figueroa, 1994; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Grosjean, 2004, 2006).
45. **Sequential/successive bilingual**: the individual who learned one language before the other (Baker, 2006; Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Wei, 2000; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Matras, 2009; Genesee et al., 1978; Butler and Hakuta, 2004, 2006; Myers-Scotton, 2006).
46. **Simultaneous bilingual**: the individual who learned the two languages as first languages (Baker, 2006; Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Wei, 2000; Edwards, 2004, 2006; Matras, 2009; Genesee et al., 1978; Butler and Hakuta, 2004, 2006; Myers-Scotton, 2006).
47. **Situational code-switching**: when the languages used change according to the situations and without topic change (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Wardhaugh, 2006).
48. **Social distance**: the situation when the learner does not have real contact with the target language group; acculturation is inhibited and so is L2 learning (Ellis, 1997).
49. **Societal bilingualism** : bilingualism as a characteristic of a group of people or a community where two languages are used (Hamers and Blanc, 2004).
50. **Subordinate bilingual**: the situation when the individual understands words in L2 through translating them in L1 (Heredia and Brown, 2004; Altarriba and Morier, 2004, 2006; Matras, 2009; Butler and Hakuta, 2004, 2006; Wei, 2000).
51. **Subtractive bilingual**: the situation when learning the 2<sup>nd</sup> language interferes with the first, resulting in replacing the 1<sup>st</sup> with the 2<sup>nd</sup>) (Garcia, 2009; Lightbown and Spada, 2006; Wei, 2000).
52. **Tag-switching**: a tag of another language, such as 'you know' or 'I mean' is inserted into an utterance (Romaine, 1995).
53. **Transfer/ interference**: the outcome of the influence of a learner's first language knowledge in the second language (although the two terms are not used interchangeably for all linguists) (Romaine, 1995).
54. **Transfer**: "an instance of transference, where the form, feature or construction has been taken over by the speaker from another language, whatever the motives or

explanation is. Transference is thus the process and a transfer the product” (Clyne, 2003: 76).

55. **Trigger-words:** “words at the intersection of two language systems, which, consequently, may cause speakers to lose their linguistic bearings and continue the sentence in the other language” (Clyne, 1991: 193).

## **APPENDIX 6**

### **Ethics Procedure**

#### **1. INFORMATION LETTER TO THE SCHOOL PRINCIPAL ASKING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT THE RESEARCH AND CONSENT FORM (TRANSLATED FROM GREEK)**

Primary school of Lecheo Korinthias

To the school principal.

As our society evolves and acquires a complicated structure, we are asked as educators to respond to its constantly developing demands. The State School classes no longer consist of homogeneous student bodies, as children with different linguistic and cultural origin are added year by year, puzzling the teachers and leading them towards searching the suitable methods of teaching.

The aim of the research I am conducting for my PhD studies in Aston University under the title "The impact of L1 in bilingual immigrant Albanian students in the Greek primary school system" stems from the same concerns. It focuses on bilingual students, the Albanian immigrants, and on the consequences of their bilingualism regarding their language choices, especially the impact on their first language, Albanian.

The participation of those students will be valuable in data collection that will lead the researcher to safe results.

The students will be asked to give an interview during which the researcher will be keeping field notes for each student. The questions will be about the linguistic and cultural background of the student. Also, recordings of spoken interaction will be carried out at school, in the classroom or in the school yard. No student names will be mentioned on the transcriptions, or the field notes. The data will remain confidential and will be used for academic reasons only.

With this letter I am asking you

- a. to give me your permission to collect data for my research
- b. to take responsibility of informing the parents about it, its aims and what it involves.

The students will participate only with the consent of the parents and they can withdraw anytime they wish.

If you have no objection in giving your permission, please read and sign below.

Thank you for your cooperation.

## **CONSENT FORM**

I confirm that I have read the description of the research "The impact of L1 in bilingual immigrant Albanian students in the Greek primary school system" Urania Sarri is conducting and I had the opportunity to ask her any relevant questions.

I understand that a number of Albanian immigrant students will have to give an interview while the researcher will be keeping notes and that spoken interaction will be recorded within the school grounds.

I know that all the participants and their parents must have understood the aims and the methods of their participation in this research and what their children will be asked to do.

I know they must have understood that they retain their right to withdraw anytime they or the children wish.

I understand that the students' names will not be mentioned and the data will remain confidential and will be used for academic reasons only.

I confirm that none of the students will be forced to participate in the research if he/she or his/her parents do not wish to do so.

Therefore I give my permission to Urania Sarri to conduct the research and to the students the researcher has selected to participate in it with the parents' consent.

Signature

## **2. INFORMATION LETTER TO THE PARENTS AND CONSENT FORM (TRANSLATED FROM GREEK)**

Dear parent,

As our society evolves and acquires a complicated structure, we are asked as educators to respond to its constantly developing demands. The State School classes no longer consist of homogeneous student bodies, as children with different linguistic and cultural origin are added year by year, puzzling the teachers and leading them towards searching the suitable methods of teaching.

The aim of the research I am conducting stems from the same concerns. It focuses on bilingual students, the Albanian immigrants, and on the consequences of their bilingualism regarding their language choices, especially the impact on their first language, Albanian.

I will ask your child to do two things:

1. Take part in an interview
2. Take part in recordings of spoken interaction between him/her and other students in the classroom or during the breaks.

The participation of your child in this study will be valuable in collecting data that will lead to safe conclusions.

If you are willing for your child to participate, please read the form below carefully and sign it in the space at the bottom.

Thank you for your help.

### **Subject consent form**

I have read the description of the research project to be carried out by Urania Sarri. I have had the opportunity to discuss it with her and the school principal and ask any questions I have.

I understand that my child will be recorded in the classroom and during the breaks. I also understand that he/she will be asked to take part in an interview about his/her use of Greek and Albanian while the teacher will be keeping notes. I understand that my child can decline to take part in such an interview or in the recordings.

I understand that my child's name will be kept in confidence and that his/her identity will not be revealed.

I agree for my child to take part in the study. I understand that he/she may withdraw from the study at any time, for whatever reason, and if he/she does, I will inform the researcher.

---

Signature

### **3. Children's Information Sheet (translated from Greek).**

I am writing a report for my University work. It's like homework. My report is going to be about what languages children who come from other countries use when they talk to others. I don't know what children think about their language. So if you agree I would like you to talk with me about what you think about it. Sometimes adults don't always know what children think. So this report will help to let adults know what children think.

You don't have to talk to me if you don't want to and you won't get into trouble. If the others in the group want to talk to me and you don't want to, that's okay too. You still won't get into trouble.

When you talk to me I will be keeping notes to help me remember what you told me. It's not like a test - there are no right or wrong answers.

If, when we are talking, you want to stop talking or go that's okay. If you don't want to answer any of the questions that's okay too.



Also, if you agree I want you to let me listen to you when you talk to other children. When you and your friends are talking I will put the tape on so that I can remember what everyone's said for my report. But at anytime you can tell me to turn it off and I will.

The words on the tape will be typed by me. The tape and the copy of your words from the tape will only be seen by me and my teachers. After we have finished with the words and the tape they will be locked away because those are my school rules.

When I write my report I might write about some of the things you have talked about but I won't use your name so people won't know they are your words.

If you have any worries after our talk you can come and talk to me. I will keep everything private.

Your parents have said its okay for me to talk with you and to record you but if you don't want to then that's okay too. I won't talk to you or record you unless you say it's okay. You can ask me any questions you like before you say it's okay to talk to you or record you.

### **Children's Consent Form**

Mrs Rania has told me that:

- she is writing a report for her University degree.
- if I don't want to talk to her about her report that's okay and I won't get into trouble.
- she will be asking me questions about what I think about the languages I speak
- there are no right or wrong answers and that if I don't want to answer some of the questions that's okay.
- anytime I want to stop talking that's okay and she will turn the tape off.
- she will write about some of the things I've talked about but won't use my name.
- her notes, the tape and the copy of my words from the tape will only be seen by her, and her teachers, and that they will be kept private.
- if I have any worries about our talk then I can talk with her about that.
- I agree it's ok for Mrs Rania to talk to me and to record me for her report

I agree

Signature.....

## APPENDIX 7

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(translated from Greek)

1. Where were you born? (If in Albania, when did you come to Greece?)
2. Why do you think your family came to Greece?
3. Which languages can you speak?
4. How did you learn this/ these language (s)?
5. Which language do you use...
  - A. with your family:
    - parents
    - siblings
    - grandfathers
  - B. with other people:
    - your friends who come from Albania
    - your friends who come from Greece
  - C. In everyday interaction:
    - when you play with others
    - at parties
    - in class during group work (when you know the teacher cannot hear you)
6. Which language do your parents use to communicate with each other at home?
7. Which language do your parents use to communicate with you?
8. Which language do you use mostly at home?
9. When do you use Albanian at home? (when you talk to... about...)
10. Which language do you use to communicate with friends at school?
11. Which language do you use at school to communicate with friends who come from Albania?
12. When do you use Albanian at school? (when you talk to... about...)
13. Do you avoid using Albanian? If yes, why?
14. Do you think speaking Greek helps you make more friends? If yes, why do you think this happens?
15. Do you believe that if you speak Greek you are not different from your Greek classmates?
16. Do you think your classmates who come from Greece will make fun of you if you speak Albanian? If yes, why do you think this may happen?
17. How do you evaluate your knowledge on Greek (from 1 to 10)?

18. How do you evaluate your knowledge on Albanian (from 1 to 10)?
  19. Do you make mistakes when you speak Albanian?
  20. How much can you understand someone who speaks Albanian?
  21. Can you write something in Albanian? (e.g. A short text about you, a note, a sentence, a few words)
  22. Can you read Albanian? (signs, newspaper titles, magazines/comics, fairy tales...)
  23. What do you think is the most difficult for you: reading, writing, listening or speaking (in Albanian)?
  24. Would you like your teacher to speak Albanian? Why?
  25. Do you think that your parents want you to speak Albanian mostly?
  26. How often do you visit Albania?
  27. Which language do you use when you visit Albania?
  28. Have you ever felt distanced from your friends and relatives when you are in Albania due to the language you speak?
  29. Do you watch Greek or Albanian TV programmes? Why?
- Do you want to make a comment about Greek or Albanian language?

Thank you for your time!

## APPENDIX 8

### TABLES ON DATA ANALYSIS

**Table 4**

**Patterns of communication for the Late Bilinguals' group (LB)**

Symbols: ( ): "a little", **B**: both languages, **GR**: Greek, **AL**: Albanian

<b>Part/pant</b>	<b>Parents' Lang.</b>	<b>Language used with parents</b>	<b>Language used with sibling</b>	<b>Language used with Albanians</b>	<b>Language used at school</b>
<b>A1</b>	AL	AL	GR	(B) Gr	GR
<b>A2</b>	AL	GR with father AL with mother	GR	GR	GR
<b>A3</b>	AL	Parents to A3: AL /A3 to parents: GR	GR	(B)/GR	GR
<b>A4</b>	B	Father: AL Mother: GR	GR	GR	GR
<b>A5</b>	AL	AL (GR)	AL (GR)	GR	GR

**Table 5**

**Patterns of communication for the Early Bilinguals' group (EB)**

Symbols: ( ): "a little", **B**: both languages, **GR**: Greek, **AL**: Albanian **X**:no answer

<b>Part/pant</b>	<b>Parents' language</b>	<b>Language used with parents parents to G/ G to parents</b>	<b>Language used with sibling</b>	<b>Language used with Albanians</b>	<b>Language used at school</b>
<b>G1</b>	B	B/B	GR	GR	GR (AL)
<b>G2</b>	AL	(B) GR/(B) GR	GR	GR	GR
<b>G3</b>	AL	(B)/(B)GR	GR	GR	GR
<b>G4</b>	AL	GR/GR (AL)	GR	GR	GR
<b>G5</b>	B	GR (A)/GR	GR	GR	GR
<b>G6</b>	GR	GR/GR	GR	GR	GR
<b>G7</b>	AL	AL/AL	GR	GR	GR
<b>G8</b>	AL	AL/B(GR)	X	GR	GR

**Table 6**

**Patterns of language use: LB group**

<b>PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE</b>	<b>A1</b>	<b>A2</b>	<b>A3</b>	<b>A4</b>	<b>A5</b>
Responding to parents in GR					
Believing AL is more difficult than GR					
Having problems with listening skills in AL					
Using GR mostly when they communicate with other Albanian immigrant children					
Preferring to use GR					
Having problems with speaking skills in AL					
Having problems with reading/writing skills in AL					

**Table 7**

**Patterns of language use: EB group**

<b>PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE</b>	<b>G1</b>	<b>G2</b>	<b>G3</b>	<b>G4</b>	<b>G5</b>	<b>G6</b>	<b>G7</b>	<b>G8</b>
The use of GR is initiated by parents								
Using AL with grandparents only								
Responding to their parents in GR								
Considering AL to be more difficult than GR								
Having problems with their listening skills in AL								
Using GR mostly with other Albanian children								
Preferring GR								
Having problems with speaking skills in AL								
Having problems with reading/writing skills in AL								

**Table 8**

**Self-reported language competence: LB group**

Symbols: **B**: both languages, **GR**: Greek, **AL**: Albania **Y**:Yes **N**:No  
**W**: writing, **R**: reading, **S**:speaking, **L**:listening **X**: no answer/don't know

Part/pant	Higher level of literacy	Preference for AL speaking teacher	Language preference	Avoidance of Speaking AL at school	Lack of skills in AL
<b>A1</b>	AL	Y	AL	N	W/R (S)
<b>A2</b>	AL	N	AL in Abania GR in Greece	N	W
<b>A3</b>	GR	N	X	N	W/R (S)(L)
<b>A4</b>	GR	Y	X	N	E/W/L
<b>A5</b>	B	N	N	N	R/W/S

**Table 9**

**Self-reported language competence: EB group**

Symbols: **B**: both languages, **GR**: Greek, **AL**: Albania **Y**:Yes **N**:No  
**W**: writing, **R**: reading, **S**:speaking, **L**:listening **X**: no answer/don't know

Part/pant	Lack of skills in AL	Preference for AL speaking teacher	Language preference	Higher level of literacy	Avoidance of Speaking AL at school
<b>G1</b>	S/ W/ R	N	GR	GR	N
<b>G2</b>	(S) /E /R/ L	N	GR	GR	X
<b>G3</b>	R	Y	GR	GR	X
<b>G4</b>	(W) (R)	X	X	SAME	N
<b>G5</b>	R/ W	N	GR	GR	Y
<b>G6</b>	R/S/L/W	N	GR	GR	Y
<b>G7</b>	(S) /R/ W/(L)	N	GR	GR	N
<b>G8</b>	(SLR) W	N	X	GR	N

**Table 10**

**The social impact of Albanian: LB group**

Symbols: **Y**:Yes **N**:No **X**: no answer/don't know

Part/pant	Feeling of belonging due to GR	Feelings of negative attitudes by Greek students	Avoidance of Speaking AL at school
<b>A1</b>	Y	Y	N
<b>A2</b>	N	N	N
<b>A3</b>	Y	Y	N
<b>A4</b>	Y	N	N
<b>A5</b>	Y	X	N

**Table 11: The social impact of Albanian: EB group**

Symbols: Y:Yes N:No X: no answer/don't know

Part/pant	Avoidance of Speaking AL at school	Feeling of belonging due to GR	Feelings of negative attitudes by GR students	Feeling of isolation from AL relatives
G1	N	Y	Y	N
G2	X	N	Y	Y
G3	X	Y	Y	Y
G4	N	Y	N	N
G5	Y	Y	N	N
G6	Y	X	N	N
G7	N	Y	Y	N
G8	N	N	N	X

**TABLE 12: Instances of code-switching by participants**

SPEAKER	NUMBER OF SWITCHES
A1	4
A2	10
A3	1
A4	0
A5	0
G1	4
G2	0
G3	4
G4	0
G5	1
G6	0
G7	0
G8	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>25</b>

**TABLE 13: Instances of code-switching by number of switches.**

SPEAKER	NUMBER OF SWITCHES
A2	10
A1	4
G1	4
G3	4
A3	1
G5	1

G8	1
A4	0
A5	0
G2	0
G4	0
G6	0
G7	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>25</b>

**TABLE 14: Instances of code-switching by research group: Late Bilinguals.**

<b>SPEAKER</b>	<b>NUMBER OF SWITCHES</b>
A2	10
A1	4
A3	1
A4	0
A5	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15</b>

**TABLE 15: Instances of code-switching by research group: Early Bilinguals**

<b>SP</b>	<b>NUMBER OF SWITCHES</b>
G1	4
G3	4
G5	1
G8	1
G2	0
G4	0
G6	0
G7	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10</b>

**TABLE 16: Instances of code-switching by gender**

<b>PART/PANTS' GENDER</b>	<b>NUMBER OF SWITCHES</b>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF PART/PANTS</b>	<b>NUMBER OF PART/PANTS WHO SWITCHED</b>	<b>NUMBER OF PART/PANTS WHO NEVER SWITCHED</b>
<b>MALE</b>	15	6	3	3
<b>FEMALE</b>	10	7	4	3



## APPENDIX 9

### EXTRACTS FROM RECORDINGS OF INTERACTION

#### Extract 1

<<Context: The participants are playing a memory game using cards>>

- 01 A2: ou! ti omorfo::=  
Oh! How beautiful!
- 02 G3: = ine falena  
It is a whale.  
(.)
- 03 A4: [ohi]  
No
- 04 G1: [ohi]  
No
- 05→ G3: <<Albanian>> (-) sou miazi=  
<<Albanian: eagle>>. It looks like you.
- 06 G1: =[ego]  
Me.
- 07→ A2: <<Albanian>>=  
<<Albanian: Eagle Albania>>
- 08→ A1: = e pe]dia (-) tha milisoume ke ligo alvanika=<<lowering  
voice>>  
Hey guys (-) let's speak a bit of Albanian.
- 09 A3: = ohi  
No.
- 10 G3: o re <<name G1>>  
Oh, you <<name G1>>
- 11 A4: den ipe o kirios  
The teacher did not tell us to do so

#### Extract 2

<<Context: The participants are playing a memory game using cards>>

- 01 G1: lipon=  
Well.
- 02 A2: = ela re pethim  
Come on  
(.)
- 03→ G3: <<Albanian: sipion si pris>>=  
<<Albanian for swear word>>
- 04 A4: = !! re! ti ipe! <<shocked>>  
Oh! Hey! What did you say?  
((laughter))
- 05→ G1: <<Albanian; ekoup toin a taktou>>  
<<Albanian: But they know what you mean. >>  
(.)
- 06→ A2: <<Albanian: are>>  
<<Albanian for Come on>>  
((laughter) ( unintelligible ) <<multiple speakers>>
- 07 G3: ((laughter)) afto mafto ((laughter)) (--) [afto:: me (.) afto::]  
This one with that one.

08→ A2: [**<<Albanian>>**]  
**(unitelligible )**

09 G3: ((laughter))  
kine ke psili name  
And she's tall too.

10 A2: oti tafesis kani  
It does whatever you let it.

11→ A3: kseris ti ine=  
Do you know what it means?

12 G1: =ohi=  
No.

13 A4: = ohi=  
No.

14 → G2: =KE THEN THELO NA MATHO!= <<angrily>>  
And I do not want to know!

15 → A1: = KSEREIS! gi\_afto les [den thes]  
You know! That's why you say you do not want.

16 G1: [rikse (xxx)]=  
Throw.

17 → A2: <<low voice>> reftika (.) na min akouse.  
I burped. Let it not hear that.  
((laughter))

18 → A3: RE! shhh! (-) afti i dio [ti kanoune]  
Hey! Shhh! (-) what are these two doing?

19 A2: [ela rikse]  
Come on, your turn.

20→ G1: egko ime dio= <<faking foreign accent>>  
I have two points.

21 A2: =ke ego:: =  
Me two::

22 G3: =ego ena  
I have one.

### **Extract 3**

<<Context: The participants are playing a memory game using cards>>

01 G1: na mathete=  
Just so you know.

02 A3: =a more koutsompo[la]  
Come on you gossip girl.

03 G3: [ne] thio fores se nikisa omos=  
Yes, but I defeated you twice.

04 G1: =ego se kerdisa dio fores=  
I defeated you twice.

05 G3: =kita ti pseftia  
Check this liar.  
<<background noise>>

06 → A2: **<<Albanian: tolozim tolozim nani ye tietere>>**  
**<<Albanian for: Let's play something else.>>**  
(.)

07 A1: ti sira mou e=  
Hey, my turn.

08 A4: =tora arxizoume apo ton<<name A2>>

09 A2: Now we start from <<name A2>>.  
 ohi re [si]  
No hey you.  
 10 A3: [to]ra ne=  
Now yes  
 11 A4: = tora=  
Since now.  
 12 A1: re ine to tetarto pexn[idi:.]  
Hey, this is the fourth game  
 13 G1: [kerdi]same tora:  
We won now.  
 14 A2: ne!  
Yes!

#### **Extract 4**

<<Context: the participants have just finished playing a board game>>

01 G1: re pedia nikisame tora thelete na ta skisete (-)  
Hey guys we won now you want to rip them?  
 02 A1: ego  
Me.  
 03 A2: EGO!  
Me!  
 <<background noise>>  
 04 A4: pas kala re <<name A1>>?  
Hey <<name A1>>what's wrong with you?  
 05 S?: A:: ((kid is making fun of someone))  
Ah!  
 06 G2: tora paidia, tora ta mazeuoume ke [ta pame stin kiria]  
Guys now, now we take them and [we give them to the teacher]  
 07 G3: [pedia opote (XXXX))]  
Guys whenever ...  
 08 A2: [ego!]  
Me!  
 09 G3: [ohi] ohi tha peksoume kati edopera tora tha sizitisoume=  
No, we will play something here now, we well talk about something.  
 10 → A3: = <<Albani[an]>>  
Speak, we can hear you, why do you have to shout?  
 11 G1: [You]hou:!  
 <<exclamation of excitement>>  
 12 G1: pigene ston kirio pes tou oti teliosame  
Go tell the teacher that we have finished.  
 13 G3: min mas kopsis then thelei kanis  
 Don't cut . No one wants to.  
 14 A4: ne  
Yes.

#### **Extract 5**

<<Context: The participants are playing a guessing game>>

01 G1: signomi ala the to i akousate [kati]?  
Sorry but didn't you i hear something?  
 02 A1: [i a]kousa[me]  
We just heard i.

- 03 A4: [otan] girnas tha po ego pio  
 (-) otan ehi poli kinisi sto thromo  
When you return...I'll say  
which one it is....when there is too much traffic.
- 04 A4: ti simeni  
What does it mean?
- 05 A2: [kiki]oforia!  
Traffic!
- 06 G1: [NE]  
Yes!
- 07 A4: [NE]  
Yes!  
 (.)
- 08 A3: ipes ti leksi kinisi=  
You said the word traffic.
- 09 A4: =ohi=  
No.
- 10 G3: =ohi ntaksi=  
No, it is okay.
- 11 G1: =ela grigora edo eho ke  
Come on, quickly, I also have  
 ((laughter)) <<background noise>>
- 12 → A2 <<Albanian>>=  
<<Albanian for: mule>>
- 13 → A1: = <<Albanian >>  
<<Albanian repeating the same word as in 12, mule>>  
 <<background noise, participants drop the dice>>
- 14 G1: °hh then to ksero=  
I don't know this one.
- 15 A2: erm xero na sto eksigiso  
Erm, I can explain it to you.
- 16 G2: =ohi afto=  
Not this one.
- 17 G1: =oute afto=  
Neither that one.
- 18 A4: re na sto eksigiso ego?=  
Shall I explain it to you?
- 19 A1: =OH!!=  
No!
- 20 G1: =ah (-)  
Oh.  
 <<laughter>>
- 21 G1: pame tora  
Let's go now.
- 22 A3: re pedia o <<name>> milai ke[ i o]mada tou <<angrily>>  
Hey guys <<name for G1>> is speaking and his team.
- 23 G1: [ena] meros i er ahh <<thinking,  
 background voices>>  
One place or... <<thinking, background voices>>
- 24 → A2: <<Albanian>>  
<<Albanian, saying the first letter of the word in order to help G1>>
- 25 A3: OH!! TELOS! <<name A3>> LEI SINEHIA TOU <<name for  
 G1>>APO TI ARHIZI <<very angrily>>  
No! This is over! <<name for A3>> always tells <<name for G1>>

26 G1: the first letter! <<very angrily>>  
E!  
Hey!

### **Extract 6**

<<Context: the participants are playing a miming game>>

01 G6: orea. e: (---) <<name G4>>  
Ok then. Er, <<name>>.

02 G4: (-) pernis e:: (1,3)  
You take er...

03 → G8: [**<<Albanian>>**]  
<<Albanian>> <<not clear>>  
<<laughter>>

04 G4: [mpetoni]  
Watering can.

05 G6: ohi.  
No.

06 G4: homa.  
Soil.

07 G6: ti ti enois mpetoni  
What do you mean by "water can"?

08 G5: ksanakanto ligo stin arhi, kanto [ligo stin]  
Just do it again from the beginning, do it from the

09 G7: [ksanakanto] ligo, den katalava tipota.  
Do it again, I did not get anything.

### **Extract 7**

<<Context: the participants are playing a guessing game>>

01 A4: (-)ego kano (.) esis kanate re:: (--oi ali na min kanoun?  
It is my turn. Your turn was before... What about the others'  
turn?

02 A2: i ali ekanan re  
They have played

03 G1: [tha] sas po ego (0,9)  
I will tell you!

04 G3: [ti les]  
What are you say (ing)...

05 A2: [mikres! ]mikres!  
Short ones! Short ones! <<they mean short words>>

06 A3: [tha kanoume] me mena  
We'll do it with me.

07 G1: [alfavito] alfavito  
Alphabet. Alphabet

08 A3: afto ine:: (..) This is:: (--) the::

09 A3: to: alpha ela  
It's alpha, come on.

10 G1: alfavito (1,3)  
Alphabet.

11 → A2: <<Albanian>>  
<<unintelligible word >>

12 A4: pio?  
What?

13 → A1: <<Albanian>>  
<<unintelligible phrase>>

14 G1: alfavito.  
Alphabet.

### **Extract 8**

<<Context: the participants are having a casual interaction among games.>>

01 A3: ela (.) ela mi hrisimopiis to ((unintelligible))  
Come on ...Don't use the ((unintelligible))

02 A4: ego pao tou[aleta]  
I am going to the toilet.

03 A3: ne  
Yes.

04 G2: [ne!] varieme tora na sikotho.  
Yes! I cannot be bothered to get up.

05 → G3: i <<name A4>> pai toualeta (---) <<Albanian: <<name A4>>  
dovete a banio >>  
<<name A4>> is going to the toilet. <<Albanian for repeating  
/translating the same sentence.>>

06 G2: ohi ohi  
No no .

07 G3: to theka to theka  
It is five, it is five!

### **Extract 9**

<<Context: the participants are setting the game rules>>

- 01        A1:    ama diladi dialeksi i <<name A4>> tha peksi o <<name A2>> i::  
                 <<name A3>>  
                 So if <<name A4>> gets to pick, then <<name A2>> will play or  
                 <<name A3>>
- 02 →     G1:    **oh kourastika ((albanian: a em sou mou meteplatou))**  
                 **Oh I'm tired. ((albanian:repeating/translating: I am tired))**
- 03 →        <<A1 and G1 sing a rhyme in Albanian>>
- 04        A2:    **<<albanian: repeating the last verse>>**
- G1:    ha  
                 <<exclamation of agreement>>
- 05→        A1:    hm (-) katse na skefto. hmm.  
                 Hmm. Let me think. Hmm.
- 06        A1:    (-) er
- 07        G1:    ha  
                 <<exclamation of agreement>>
- 08        A1:    **<<albanian: unintelligible>>**
- 09        G1     **<<albanian: unintelligible>>**
- 10        G3     **<<albanian: unintelligible>>**
- <<A1, G1, and G3 speak/sing Albanian in an incoherent, unintelligible way>>
- 11 →     A1:    ksero ki\_ala alvanika.  
                 **I know more Albanian.**

### **Extract 10**

<<Context: the children are deciding on what game to play>>

- 01        G8:    (-) e e (-- ) xeris (1,68)  
                 Hey, hey, you know.
- 02 →     G5:    **Ah (-) <<albanian: lokehante tu tsampari to>>**  
                 **<<Albanian: singing a funny song>>**  
                 <<laughter>>
- 03        G6:    re elate na pexoume kati re!=  
                 Guys come on, let's play something!
- 04        G4:    =(---) orea i: (-) <<name G4>> ise (-) ise i daskala mas =  
                 Fine. Er, <<name G4>>, you are our teacher.
- 05        G5:    =ohi. ego ime daskala. ego.  
                 No. I am the teacher. I am.
- 06        G6:    stamatiste oli  
                 Everybody, stop!
- 07        G6:    pios theli na (unintelligible)  
                 Who wants to (unintelligible)
- 08        G4:    stamatiste oli  
                 Everybody, stop!
- 09        G6:    pios pios theli na ine i: <<name G4>> daskala  
                 Who wants <<name G4>> to be the teacher?

### **Extract 11**

<<Context: The participants are organizing the miming game >>

- 01 G1: teliosame.  
We are done.
- 02 G3: ki emis.  
So are we.
- 03 G2: theloume na mas vris afto  
We want to you find this one.
- 04 A3: ohi (-)  
No.
- 05 G1: uf teliosate  
Ouf! Have you finished?
- 06 G3: entaksi  
Okay
- 07 G1: tha kanete esis?  
Is it your turn?
- 08 G5: ne.  
Yes.
- 09 G1: entaksi  
[Alright].
- 10 G2: na sou po kati  
Can I say something?
- 11 G7: kathomaste s\_ena thranio:  
We are sitting on a desk:
- [° °] ((kids talking in the background- unclear))
- 12 → A2: <<Albanian>>  
<<Albanian: unintelligible>>
- 13 → G1: <<Albanian>>  
<<Albanian: unintelligible>>
- 14 → A2: <<Albanian:uniam>> <<his own name>>  
<<Albanian: this is>> <<his own name>>
- 15 → A1: <<Albanian: uniam>> lipon ne  
<<Albanian: this is ...>> well, yes
- 16 A1: tha horistoume i <<name A3>> e ego o <<name A2>> ke o  
<<name G1>>  
Let's make groups. <<name A3>>, <<name A2>> and <<name G1>>
- 17 A1: i proti omatha  
The first team.
- 18 A2: ego  
Me
- 19 G2; tha horistoume  
We will make groups.
- 20 G2: na that horistoume tha horistoume ((name A3>> <<name A1>>  
<<name G1>> <<name A2>>  
We will make groups, we will make groups <<calls out the names for the first group>>
- 21 A2: pire  
She took...



- 22 G2: <<name G3>> <<name G2>> <<name A4>>  
<< she calls out the names for the second group>>
- 23 A1: ne sti defteri erotisi mas ihate vali afti ine  
Yes , in the second question you had this one for us.
- 24 G2: ohi  
No .

### Transcription conventions

Albanian utterances	<b>Bold</b>	unintelligible speech	( )
English translation	<u>underlined</u>	unintelligible syllable(s)	(XXX) (XXX)
Overlaps	[word]	XXX)	
very short, just noticeable pause	(.)	guessed word	(word)
short pause (0.2-0.5 sec.)	(-)	unintelligible timed speech	((unintelligible
medium pause (0.5-0.8 sec)	(--)	approx 0.5 sec))	
longer pause (0.8-1.0 sec)	(---)	latching	word=
timed pause	eg. (2.1)		=word
audible in-breath	h°	stretched syllable/ word/ phrase	
filled pauses and hesitation sounds er, erm, um		short (0.2-0.5 sec.)	:
laughter	((laughter))	medium (0.5-0.8 sec.)	::
non-verbal events	((event))	long (0.8-1.0 sec)	:::
non-verbal phenomena while uttering a word/ phrase <<event word>>		vocalic emphasis	Capitalisation
		extra emphasis	Capitalisation +
		exclamation marks	
		extra comments	<<comment
		word>>	

## APPENDIX 10

### RESEARCH DATA

#### The participants' linguistic biographies

### PART 1

#### PARTICIPANTS IN THE LB GROUP

#### Number of participants: 5

#### **CODE NAME: A1**

FEMALE , 13

She was born in Albania and came to Greece at the age of three. Her family immigrated to Greece for financial reasons since her father could not find a job in Albania.

She can speak both Standard Albanian and Standard Greek. She acquired Albanian from her family and Greek from school. When she communicates with her parents she uses Albanian but with her seventeen-year-old sister she communicates in Greek. More specifically, her parents communicate with each other in Albanian and address her in Albanian as well *“because they don't know much Greek. Only the most important (words).”*

Although her first response to the question of the language she uses at school is that she uses both Greek and Albanian, she goes on to clarify that she uses Albanian with others who can speak it, but if they know Greek she prefers using it. She adds that with her friends who come from Albania she uses Albanian when she wants to say a word that is difficult in Greek. Eventually she states that she uses Greek at school: *“At school I speak Greek.... either when they (children) are Greek or Alb... They come from Albania”*. Remarkably enough, she avoids using the word “Albanian” and replaces it with a sentence.

When she plays she may use either language but she wants to use Albanian more because as she says: *“I want to learn it. If I leave (for Albania)... I should not forget it.”*

At home she watches both Albanian and Greek TV programmes because she wants to learn new words. In fact, she likes Albanian more: *“It is my language; it is where I come from.”* Also, she uses Albanian when she wants to share something with *“those who come from my*

*homeland only.*” Sometimes she uses Albanian to explain to someone what the teacher is saying because they might not understand.

She evaluates her knowledge in Greek with 7.5 – 8 out of ten because there are still some words she does not know and her knowledge on Albanian with 8.5. She makes mistakes when she speaks Albanian; she says she is not excellent at it. She makes mistakes in long words and confuses the letters of the alphabet when she is writing. However, she understands others very well when they speak it as long as they do not use too long or difficult words that she does not know. Other than names, she cannot write anything in Albanian. She can read shop signs but that is all she can do with reading because reading Albanian is hard; she has only recently started learning to read and write.

Moving on with the interview, she mentions that she does not really care about reading Albanian and she stresses how hard it is to read and to write this language.

She would like her teacher to speak Albanian because this would help her learn the words she does not know in her “*mother tongue*”. She feels that her parents want her to learn Albanian in case they decide to go back someday.

She visits Albania once or twice a year and when she is there she does not feel isolated from her friends and relatives because of the language as she uses Albanian every day.

She notes that she wants to learn Albanian because it is a language she likes and because Greek is the language she uses every day at school whereas Albanian she only uses for a few hours at home.

As a final comment, she noted that she does not avoid using Albanian but she feels that speaking Greek makes her feel she does not differ from her Greek classmates. She thinks that other students might make fun of her if she speaks Albanian.

## **CODE NAME: A2**

MALE, 12

He was born in Albania and came to Greece at the age of 8. His family came to Greece to join his father who had come earlier “*because dad wanted us close*”.

He went straight to the 3<sup>rd</sup> class of Primary School and had to attend the language support classes in order to learn Greek.

He speaks Standard Albanian but he has learned Greek not only at school but also from speaking with friends. Despite the fact that his parents use Albanian to communicate with each other, they speak Greek to him. At home they speak Greek mostly, with his father and sister but his mother knows very little Greek so he speaks Albanian with her. In fact he finds

this difficult to explain at first: *“My parents speak to me mostly in Albanian... erm my parents speak to me in Greek. Most of the time at home I speak Alb erm Greek, Greek”*. When there are words he does not know in Greek he replaces them with Albanian. He watches Greek and Albanian TV programmes *“to remember the languages I learn”*.

At school he speaks Greek. He states that he speaks Albanian to other Albanian children when he knows they are being recorded *“because we want to show that we know Albanian”*.

He does not think that he avoids speaking Albanian: *“I want to speak it because I like it more as a language”* he says. However, he speaks Greek with his friends *“so that they understand me”* and he clarifies that he also speaks Greek to his friends who come from Albania.

He does not think others will make fun of him if he speaks Albanian *“but they will ask me what this word means”*.

He evaluates his competence in Greek as *“Good”* and in Albanian as *“Better”*.

He does not make mistakes when he speaks Albanian and he understands others very well when they speak it. In addition, he can write and read a text in Albanian, for example the newspaper and magazines. However, writing in Albanian is the hardest part for him.

Surprisingly, he would not like his teacher to speak Albanian not only because his Greek classmates would not understand but he clarifies that he would not like it anyway: *“maybe only some words I don’t understand”*. Still, he repeats that he would not like to have an Albanian-speaking teacher but he feels that he cannot explain why.

He wants to speak Greek because he wants to learn it well and he wants to speak Albanian when he is in Albania only. He visits Albania twice a year and there he speaks Albanian so he does not feel like he has been isolated from relatives there due to language.

He thinks Albanian is easier than Greek as it is his native language. He states that his parents want him to speak Albanian: *“Yes, they want me to speak Greek so that I learn it better...they say when I go back to Albania I speak Albanian”*.

*My note: It is my opinion that he has shown impressive progress in the Greek language because when he was in the third grade, three years ago, he had great difficulties in speaking Greek and I had to use one of the other Albanian students as translator to communicate with him.*

**CODE NAME: A3**

**FEMALE 12**

She was born in Albania. Her family came to Greece in order to work but she came afterwards, at the age of seven and she has attended the Greek school from the 1<sup>st</sup> grade.

She can speak both Standard Albanian and Greek but she uses Greek when she talks to her parents, siblings and friends, despite the fact that her parents address her in Albanian. With her brothers and sister she uses Greek only. She may use Albanian, however, when she wants to talk about *“something serious, when I want something, for instance.”* She thinks that her parents do not want her to use Greek more than Albanian.

At first she states that at school she uses both languages to communicate with her friends who come from Albania, although she admits she uses Greek mostly; *“for instance when I am at school I use the Greek language at school with my friends erm and when they come from: my friends who come from Albania I speak Albanian to them but mostly Greek, at school, erm, I rarely use Albanian”*.

When she uses Albanian she does it *“for no special reason, whenever I feel like it.”*

She does not avoid using Albanian; she wants to learn it as well as she knows Greek. She does not believe she makes more friends because she uses Greek more than Albanian; for her it does not matter where someone comes from. However, she thinks that speaking Greek *“makes me more interesting.”* She knows that there are a few children who make fun of her when they hear her speak Albanian.

She evaluates her knowledge of Greek with 9.5 out of ten and in Albanian with 7 to 8.

She states that she makes mistakes when she speaks Albanian and that she does not understand everything when she listens to others speaking it. As for writing, she can not write Albanian at all but she can read a little, maybe a short story. What she finds difficult in Albanian is *“speaking too much”*, reading and writing.

She would not like her teacher to speak Albanian because she would not understand her. She does not visit Albania because her parents do not have all the required documents. Still, she would like to go there and she does not feel she has become isolated from her friends and relatives because of the language she uses. She concludes that she wishes to learn both languages equally.

**CODE NAME: A4**

FEMALE, 11

She was born in Albania and came to Greece at the age of five and she has attended Greek school from the 1st grade onwards. She remembers that at first she had great difficulties with the language.

Her parents are Albanian but they can speak Greek as well. She considers Greek as her *“mother tongue”*. At home she speaks both languages; her father speaks Albanian mainly but her mother speaks Greek. However, as her grandfathers do not know any Greek, she states that at home they mostly use Albanian. A4 speaks Greek too and she communicates with her brother in Greek. Sometimes she speaks Albanian when she talks to her parents about school and about family issues. *“When I am at home I speak mostly Albanian when I speak to my mum and dad but with my brother, but with my brother we speak Greek mostly”*.

At school she speaks Greek only even when she talks to other Albanian students because as she says *“everyone understands me this way”*. However, at first as she states that she speaks *“mostly Albanian”* but then corrects herself saying *“Greek but and little Albanian too”*. At the interviewer's question about which language she uses the most she replies *“Mostly Greek”*. Yet, she states later that *“I speak Albanian with my friends from Albania or with my friends who know Albanian and come from Greece* (she probably means Albanians who were born in Greece). *“With my Albanian friends I speak mostly Greek but I also speak a little Albanian”*. At the question why she uses Greek with them she replies *“Because some of my classmates don't know... the rest of them don't know how to speak Albanian”*.

She believes that speaking Greek helps her make more friends and she is afraid others might make fun of her if she speaks Albanian. Also, she believes other students respect her more if she speaks Greek.

She believes that she is much better at Greek than Albanian: *“As for Albanian, I have, I have forgotten something, some words from Albania”*.

She doesn't understand Albanian very well and she makes mistakes when she speaks it. She cannot read it at all or write it. *“I find it hard to... write in Albanian. I find it hard to read and write”*. She evaluates herself with 10 out of ten at Greek and 8 at Albanian.

She does not think her parents want her to speak Albanian more than Greek.

She prefers using Albanian because *“my other friends who come from Albania, my cousins and my friends can't speak Albanian”*.

She would like her teacher to speak Albanian because as she said *“some children can't speak it”* probably meaning that this way they might be helped in learning it. She hasn't visited

Albania since she came to Greece because her family does not have the necessary documents but their relatives visit them very often.

**CODE NAME: A5**

MALE, 8

He was born in Albania but went to school in Greece. His father came to Greece first and then the rest of the family followed.

He can speak both Greek and Albanian; he learned Greek when he came to Greece and Albanian at home with his family. He uses Standard Albanian more than Greek and he speaks it with his family and his friends from Albania although he adds that he does not have any friends who come from Albania.

At school he speaks Greek only, even with the children who come from Albania.

He would not say he avoids using Albanian because he is good at it. Nevertheless, he thinks that speaking Greek has helped him make friends as all his friends are Greek.

At first, he stated that he is better at Albanian: *"I have learned to speak Albanian better ((than Greek))"* Then he stated that he is equally good in both languages. Answering to the questions that followed he stated that he makes mistakes when he speaks Albanian. Moreover, he cannot read or write anything in Albanian, only in Greek. In addition, he would not like his teacher to speak Albanian because he likes Greek more.

His parents have no problem with the language he speaks but he prefers using Greek. He visits Albania during his summer holidays. When he is there he uses Albanian only and watches Albanian programmes on TV. However, when he is in Greece he watches Greek programmes only.

**PART 2**

**PARTICIPANTS BORN IN THE EB GROUP**

**Number of students: 8**

**CODE NAME: G1**

MALE, 13

He was born in Albania and came to Greece when he was one year old. His family came to Greece in order to find a job because *"they thought it would be better here"*.

He has learned Greek from his family, from TV and from school.

His parents communicate with each other in Albanian but address him in both languages. However, he uses Greek and Albanian to communicate with his parents but with his brothers he uses Greek whereas with his grandparents he uses Albanian.

In order to communicate with his friends he uses Greek. At school he may use Albanian with his classmates who come from Albania when he does not want others to understand what he and his friends are saying. He seems to defend his use of Albanian quite strongly at the interviewer's questions adding that *«when I speak at school with my friends I use Greek and Albanian if ... we speak Albanian to explain ourselves better because in Greek we don't know it so well... so as to understand each other better because not all of them speak Greek very well and also because sometimes I don't want others to understand what we're saying»*.

He does not avoid using Albanian because he likes it *“a little”*. Nevertheless, he believes that he can have more friends if he speaks Greek because he does not have any friends coming from Albania anyway. His friends are all Greek and he believes that Greek has helped him make friends among his classmates.

He thinks that some of his classmates make fun of him when he speaks Albanian and this is something that makes him feel bad.

He evaluates himself with 7 or 6 out of ten in Greek because he *“doesn't know it well”* and in Albanian with 2 because he cannot really speak it. *“I evaluate myself in Greek, err, seven to seven to six because I don't know it so well but in Albanian I evaluate myself with two because in Al Albanian I can't speak at all.”* Noting the discrepancy with his previous answers the interviewer asked him why he claimed that he speaks Albanian at school. *“Err, I don't say difficult words. So there, when I speak Albanian I say easy words the... and when I speak Albanian I say the easiest words in Albanian... Err, I understand a little when I speak Albanian, err, and I don't understand it so much”*.

He makes mistakes, he cannot explain to his friends in Albania what he means and he cannot write anything in Albanian because as he explains he has learned Greek only. *“I came to Greece when I was one year old and went straight to school”*. He cannot read Albanian at all. Reading in Albanian is very hard for him as well as writing. *“I have difficulties mostly in reading Albanian, writing and speaking because I haven't learned it yet and when I may go back to Albania I may have difficulties there.”*

He does not want his teacher to speak Albanian because he would have trouble understanding her.



His parents have many Greek friends so they use Greek a lot with them as well as with their relatives.

He visits Albania in summer and he has friends and relatives there but he has difficulties speaking to them in Albanian. However, he doesn't feel isolated due to language because he has many friends and relatives in Greece: *"most of them are here"*.

He watches both Albanian and Greek TV. He started learning Albanian when he started watching kids' programmes on TV; *"I watch both Greek and Albanian <<TV>> ... From some machine my dad has bought named digea and I watch kids' programs and since then I have learned so much Albanian, err, just a little."*

He identifies himself with the Greek students using "we" and "they" when he states that Albanian language has more words *"in Albanian they have more words than we do and it is harder. There are more letters and it is hard for me to learn. I don't know what the children before me have said but I think it is hard. I do not want to go to Albania to stay; only to go and come back to Greece, where I grew up."*

My comment: three years ago this student helped me communicate with another student who had recently arrived from Albania (A2) by translating. However, he did so reluctantly. He had told me that the reason was that he could not speak it right. I realized that he did not like to speak Albanian in the classroom although I had not noticed any negative attitudes by other (Greek) students. Although he claims that he does not speak Albanian well, he was the only one who deliberately used Albanian during the first recordings when he was aware of the presence of the voice recorder.

## **CODE NAME: G2**

FEMALE, 12

She was born in Greece. Her family came to Greece for financial reasons. She has started the Greek school from kindergarten level.

She speaks both Standard Albanian and Greek: *"I speak both Albanian and Greek with my family and the same happens with my brothers but with my grandparents I speak, erm, Albanian"*.

She learned Greek from her family and from TV. As for Albanian, her parents helped her. She and her parents speak Greek at home so that her little brother can learn Greek too. When her grandfather visits them from Albania they speak Albanian. Her parents may speak

Albanian to communicate with each other but they use both languages to address to her. Nevertheless, she speaks Greek with her siblings.

She has both Greek and Albanian friends. At parties she speaks Greek *“so that they understand me”*. During group work at school, she speaks Greek *“so that we understand each other”*. At school she speaks only Greek even with students from Albania. She never speaks Albanian at school. *“At school, erm, with my friends we speak... we speak, erm, we speak Greek and a lot of the kids who come from Albania also speak Greek. At school I never speak Albanian on any topic... Err, at school I avoid speaking to I speak Greek because... because first of all, if I speak <<Albanian>> nobody will understand”*.

Elucidating her use of Greek at school, she explains that firstly she does so because others will not understand her otherwise, and secondly because she is embarrassed to speak Albanian since as she states *“Yes, nobody will understand me ...and I’m ashamed ... I’m ashamed sometimes, I don’t know Albanian so well, that’s why”*.

She does not believe she makes more friends speaking Greek and she does not feel different from her Greek classmates. Nevertheless, she feels that they will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian.

She assesses her competence in Greek as Very Good (8) but in Albanian as low as 1 out of 10. She cannot read Albanian and generally she makes mistakes, *“too many mistakes”* are her own words.

She does not understand others at all when they speak Albanian and she cannot write it either, although it has almost the same alphabet as English. Reading and writing in Albanian are the hardest skills for her.

She would not like her teacher to speak Albanian because as she says *“I wouldn’t understand her”*.

She thinks that her family wants her to speak Greek mostly.

She has visited Albania only once when she was very little and she feels isolated from her relatives because they don’t understand her.

She watches Albanian TV *“because I want to know something when I go to Albania”*.

### **CODE NAME: G3**

FEMALE, 11

She was born in Greece. Her parents use Albanian but they can speak Greek too. She considers Greek as the language she is good at and Albanian as her second language. At first she stresses how she uses both languages at home with her parents, siblings and grandparents.

Then she adds that she uses Albanian with her friends and cousins in Albania but *“in Greece I speak Greek ... but also a little Albanian”*. At home her parents speak Albanian mainly but address her in both languages. However, at the interviewer’s question about the language they use mostly with her she says they use Greek mostly. But she may use Albanian at home *“when there is a problem”* probably implying a family issue. As she adds, *“when I am at home I speak Greek mostly ... and Alb and Albanian”*. When the interviewer asks who she speaks Albanian to, she replies *“With my cousins when they come. now that my grandmother is coming. Although she knows some Greek and she speaks to me”*. Asked again about which language she speaks the most she replies *“Er, both, okay at the same time I speak both Albanian, and Greek. Half Greek half Albanian”*.

She watches Albanian programs on satellite TV and this has helped her learn the language better, especially writing, with the help of subtitles. *“I have learned Albanian from from the TV... A composition I can write because I have learned it from the TV”*.

At school she speaks Greek even when she talks to other Albanian students because *“this is the language everyone has to speak”*. Speaking Greek makes her feel she is not different from the other students and helps her make more friends. She is afraid others will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian and respect her more when she speaks Greek.

She evaluates herself with “Excellent” at Greek and 9 out of ten at Albanian and she believes she is equally good in both languages. Still, she can not read Albanian. As she has already stated, she can speak Albanian, *“no I don’t make mistakes when I speak Albanian because I have got used to it as I speak both Greek and Albanian”*. She does not know the *“difficult words”* and she states that what she finds the most difficult about this language is speaking ... *because in Albania there are some people from other villages and cities speak somehow different from people in my town, that’s why”*.

She notes that she would prefer her teacher to speak her own language (Greek) because this way she understands.

She believes her parents want her to learn Albanian more than Greek *“because it is my country”*.

She often visits Albania with her family. Changing her claims in the beginning of the interview, she states that she speaks Greek a lot when she visits her relatives in Albania and that she feels a little distanced from them.

**CODE NAME: G4**

FEMALE, 11

She was born in Greece. Her family came to Greece for *“a new life, to find a job”*. She speaks both Standard Albanian and Greek. She acquired Albanian from her parents, mostly her mother and Greek from her parents and school. *“I can speak Greek and Albanian as well er, I have learned these languages from... First I learned it at school, Greek, but also at home. Mum helped me a little”*.

With her family, she uses both languages but she does not think she uses one language more than the other. After a few questions she states that her parents address her and her sister in Greek. She may speak Albanian sometimes when she plays with her sister but the language she uses the most is Greek. When she talks to her sister at home, she uses Albanian sometimes; *“when I don’t know the Greek word”* or when she wants to say something faster.

When she speaks to her friends she uses only Greek. At school she speaks only Greek and she also does so when she plays or when she goes to parties.

Her aunts do not know Greek, so she must use Albanian to communicate with them.

She believes she must not use Albanian at school because it is a Greek school. She never uses Albanian with her Albanian friends when she is at school no matter the topic of the conversation. When the interviewer asks again about the language she uses the most, she states that she uses both languages the same. She may use Albanian when *“I don’t know how to say something in Greek... I know it but... I want to say it faster, er, ... and because none of my aunts, my mother’s sisters, speaks Greek and I have to use Albanian but ... only two friends <<mum’s>> who are in Greece can speak Greek.”*

She claims that she does not avoid speaking Albanian generally but she adds that *“I don’t want to speak Albanian because the Greeks when they hear a word in Albanian ... (they say) here’s the Albanian, thinking it is an insult, but when it’s an Italian...”* She thinks she must be speaking Greek at school so that she learns more words.

She believes she has more friends if she speaks Greek and justifies that on the fact that not all children in her school are Albanians, most are Greek and they do not understand Albanian. So speaking Greek she has more chances of making more friends.

She does not think other children (Greek) will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian, she thinks this is their prerogative, although she does not believe they would do something like this because they do not mock her friend Nikolas when he speaks Albanian; *“in fact they do not seem to care at all”*. The boy who sits next to her in class has asked her to speak some Albanian for him. She is certain her friends have no problem with Albanian language.

She evaluates her competence in Greek as neither excellent nor very good because there are words she still does not know but she has the same problem in Albanian. She thinks the level of knowledge is the same in both languages.

None of the four skills is too hard for her regarding Albanian, as she claims. She does not make mistakes when she speaks Albanian but there are words which are hard and when she does not use them very often she forgets them.

She understands others when they speak Albanian. As for writing Albanian, her uncle asked her once to write a text of about two lines long and she could do it. She thinks her English classes have helped her lot to learn Albanian as most of the letters are the same as those in the English alphabet.

She cannot read Albanian because “ ... *the words are a little difficult er... I can't say them very well... When I don't use them very much*”.

She can write a text of two-three lines; she did it once with her father's help and she thinks she can describe herself in Albanian. “*If I hadn't started English I wouldn't have understood a word. Because, because the words are the same although Albanian is, it has more letters than the whole world I think, because there are thirty-six of them and, okay I under...I understand it*”.

She is not sure if she would like her teacher to speak Albanian, although on a second thought it would be nice if the teacher could explain to her a word she does not understand from Greek to Albanian.

Her parents allow her to speak the language she prefers. She herself is not sure which one she prefers; the one is the language of her origin but the other is the language of her friends.

She rarely goes to Albania on holiday. She does not feel isolated from her relatives there because of the language.

She usually watches both Albanian and Greek TV.

## **CODE NAME: G5**

FEMALE, 8

She was born in Greece.

She can speak both Standard Albanian and Greek but she uses Greek mostly. Her parents sometimes speak Albanian so she may speak Albanian at times when she talks to them but she always speaks Greek with her brother. She believes that her parents want her to be fluent in both languages. When her grandmother who lives in Albania visits them everybody in the

family has to speak Albanian because it is the only language she can speak. *“I use Greek with my friends mostly and with my, er parents Albanian. But mostly, mostly, more Greek.”*

At school she uses Greek to communicate with everyone, even her friends who come from Albania and she may use Albanian only *“when someone cannot speak Greek”*. As she initially claims at school she uses *“Er, Alba...er Greek, but if they don’t know much, Albanian”*. The interviewer gets back to ask again and she replies that she uses only Greek with her friends at school.

Once she used Albanian with her P.E. teacher, who speaks it a little, in order to talk him into letting her class play a game.

She avoids speaking Albanian because she only wants to learn Greek and she thinks she has more friends if she speaks it. Speaking Greek makes her feel no different from her Greek classmates.

She does not think her friends will make fun of her if she speaks Albanian because as she recalls nobody made fun of her when she spoke Albanian to her P.E. teacher.

She evaluates her knowledge of Greek as Very Good but she cannot evaluate her knowledge of Albanian because she *“can only count up to seven”* in this language.

However, she claims that she does not make mistakes when she speaks Albanian and she can understand others very well when they speak it. Still, she cannot read or write Albanian. Moreover, she would not like her teacher to speak Albanian because she understands Greek better.

She has never visited Albania but, in case she does, she will be speaking Albanian like she did when her grandma visited. She remembers how she was able to understand what was said most of the times.

She watches Greek TV only because she understands Greek programmes better than Albanian.

## **CODE NAME: G6**

MALE, 8

He was born in Greece. He cannot tell why his parents came to Greece but Greek is the only language he can speak. His parents also use Greek when they talk to each other but *“when grandma comes from Albania she speaks Albanian with dad”*. He does not think his parents want him to speak Albanian.

At school he uses Greek only and never Albanian as he cannot speak it. This is why he would not like his teacher to be speaking Albanian.

He visits Albania during the summer holidays but when he is there he speaks Greek. However, he does not feel isolated from his friends and relatives there because of the language.

**CODE NAME: G7**

MALE, 8

He was born in Greece. His family came to Greece in order to find a job.

His parents sometimes use Albanian when they talk to each other. When he talks to his brother he uses Greek but he uses Albanian with his parents and grandparents. He also uses Greek with friends who come from Albania. When he plays with friends he speaks Greek.

He does not avoid speaking Albanian because as he says, *“I can’t avoid it... because... because mum and dad speak it. All the time and to me.”* Still, he does not like this language *“because to me it is a difficult language”*. He cannot write anything in it.

He believes that speaking Greek helps him make more friends and feel that he is no different from his Greek classmates.

He feels that his classmates would make fun of him if he spoke Albanian although it has never happened.

He watches only Greek programmes on TV and he is better at Greek than Albanian as he makes mistakes when he speaks it. Nevertheless, he can understand some of it when others speak Albanian although he cannot read it or write it as he finds it a very difficult language to learn. He states that when he goes to Albania he speaks Albanian, but when the interviewer points out his previous answer that he cannot speak Albanian he says *“Yes, I don’t know it but I will learn”*. He feels distanced from his relatives in Albania because of the language.

He does not think it is a good idea to have an Albanian –speaking teacher as he would not be able to understand her.

He thinks his parents want him to speak Albanian because, according to them, it is not so hard to learn it. Also, he needs it in summer when he visits Albania otherwise he will not be able to understand other Albanians.

**CODE NAME: G8**

MALE, 9

He was born in Albania and came to Greece when he was one year old. He thinks that his family came to Greece because it was a rich country.

He can speak both Standard Albanian - which he learned with his family- and Greek which he has learned in the nine years he has been in Greece.

At home he speaks Albanian with his family and only a little Greek. His parents address him in Albanian. He thinks learning English at school has helped him improve his knowledge of Albanian as Albanian also has a Latin alphabet. His parents want him to speak Albanian at home but Greek at school.

At school he speaks Greek, even when he talks to children who come from Albania although he might sometimes speak Albanian when he does not know the Greek word for something.

He does not avoid using Albanian and he does not believe he makes more friends if he speaks Greek. In his eyes, he is no different from his Greek classmates.

He does not believe his Greek classmates would make fun of him if he spoke Albanian.

He evaluates himself with seven out of ten in Greek and four out of ten in Albanian. As he says, he makes mistakes when he speaks Albanian and he does not understand others very well when they speak it either. Moreover, he cannot write anything in Albanian but he can read shop signs. *"There are some words that I don't know well... when I speak Albanian I make some mistakes. When someone speaks Albanian I don't understand very well but...if they say it right I will understand"*.

He would not understand much if his teacher spoke Albanian, so he does not think he would like that.

He visits Albania every summer and when he is there he uses Albanian only.

He watches Greek programmes on TV only because *"there are no good programmes on Albanian channels"*.



## APPENDIX 11

### TRANSCRIPTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS' INTERVIEWS

#### Transcription conventions

Albanian utterances	<b>Bold</b>
English translation	<u>underlined</u>
Overlaps	[word]
very short, just noticeable pause	(.)
short pause (0.2-0.5 sec.)	(-)
medium pause (0.5-0.8 sec.)	(--)
longer pause (0.8-1.0 sec.)	(---)
timed pause	eg. (2.1)
audible in-breath	h°
filled pauses and hesitation sounds	er, erm, um
laughter	((laughter))
non-verbal events	((event))
non-verbal phenomena while uttering a word/ phrase	<<event word>>
unintelligible speech	( )
unintelligible syllable(s)	(XXX) (XXX XXX)
guessed word	(word)
unintelligible timed speech	((unintelligible approx 0.5 sec))
latching	word= =word
stretched syllable/ word/ phrase	
short (0.2-0.5 sec.)	:
medium (0.5-0.8 sec.)	::
long (0.8-1.0 sec.)	:::
vocalic emphasis	Capitalisation
extra emphasis	Capitalisation + exclamation marks
extra comments	<<comment word>>

#### **PART A: Participants in the LB group**

##### **1.Participant A3**

##### **1.1 00: 34 – 01: 54**

001 A3: hrisimopio pio poli ti glossa elliniki me: me ta aderfia mou ke tous gonis

I use Greek mostly with with my brothers and my parents

002 mou e: ke me tous filous mou e: genikos ola. e (-) I gonis mou milane

erm and with my friends erm in general everything (-) my parents speak

003 alvanika ke <<phone rings>> otan apefthinonte se mena milane ke se mena

Albanian and << phone rings>> when they address to me they speak Albanian

- 004 alvanika. (-) erm otan ime sto spiti milao pio poli << background noise>>  
 (-) erm when I 'm at home I speak mostly<< background voices>>  
 005 ellinika me taderfia mou .  
greek with my brothers  
 006 <<background voices>> (--) erm hrisimopio ta alvanika otan milao gia: kati  
 (--) I use Albanian when I talk about about something serious when I want  
 007 sovaro. otan thelo kati gia paradigma. otan ime sto sholio hrisimopio ti glosa  
something for instance when I am at school I use the Greek language  
 008 eliniKI milao eliniKA e: sto sholio me tous filous mou: e ke otan katagonte: i  
 fili mou pou  
at school with my friends erm and when they come from: my friends who  
 009 katagonte apo alvania milao me aftous alvanika ala pio poli elinika. erm sto sholio  
come fom Albania I speak Albanian to them but mostly greek at school erm I  
 010 erm spania hrisimopio alvanika. etsi opote mou rthi diladi then apfefgo na milao  
rarely use Albanian, just like that, anytime I feel like it. I mean I do not avoid  
speaking  
 011 alvanika giati mm thelo na ta matho ke afta. erm then pistevo oti an milao ellinika  
albanian because I want to learn it as well erm I don't think that I will make  
more friends if I speak Greek  
 012 tha eho perosoterous filous giati then ehi gia mena then ehi simasia apo pia  
Because it is not, to me it is not important where  
 013 hora katagonte.  
they come from

## 1.2 02:22-02:58

- 001 A3: kano pola lathi otan milao alvanika. erm katalaveno kapon pou milaei  
make many mistakes when I speak Albanian erm I understand someone who  
 002 alvanika ala ohi ke poli e etsi ki etsi. then mporo na grapso kimeno sta alvanika.  
speaks Albanian but not so much so and so I can not write a text in alabanian  
 003 then ksero then eho mathi. erm ke ligo mporo na diavaso ena mikro paramithi.  
I don't know I haven't learned it erm and only a little I can read a short story  
 004 erm me diskolevi: me diskolevi na diavazo ke na grafo. hm ke na milao para  
Erm I find it difficult: I find it hard to read and write hm and to speak not too  
 005 poli ligo. e then tha ithela i daskala mou na mila alvanika giati then tha tin

- Much I wouldn't like my teacher to speak Albanian because I wouldn't  
 006 katalavena para poli.  
understand her much
- 1.3 03:37-04:09**
- 001 A3: then niotho pote mou erm(.)  
I never feel erm (.)=
- 002 T: =<<unintelligible word>>then niothis ti then niothis?=  
 T: =<<unintelligible word>> you don't feel what?=  
 003 A3: =then niotho oti eho apomakrinthi apo tous sigenis mou ke tous filous mou.=  
= I don't feel I have become alienated from my relatives =
- 004: T: =epidi:=  
 T: =because: =
- 005: A3:= erm logo tis glosas.=  
Erm: because of the language
- 006 T: =epidi milas elinika diladi.=  
 T: Because you speak greek you mean
- 007 A3: =ne.=  
=Yes=
- 008 T: = pio kala apo alvanika.=  
= Better than Albanian?=  
 009 A3: =ne.=  
=Yes=
- 010 T: =moni sou pes mou. ante pes. <<unintelligible word>>=  
=Say it yourself, go ahead <<unintelligible word>>
- 011 A3: =ne milao pio poli elinika.=  
Yes I speak Greek more=
- 012 erm parakoloutho ke eliniki ke alvaniki tileorasi. erm alvaniki parakoloutho  
Erm I watch both greek and Albanian TV erm I watch Albanian
- 013 giati thelo na matho ke eliniki ke eliniki giati thelo na matho.  
Because I want to learn and greek and greek because I want to learn

## **2. Participant A1**

### **2.1 05:48-08:40**

- 001 A1: lipon milao: tis gloses eliniKA ke alvaniKA. erm tis ematha ta alvanika ta ematha  
I can speak Greek and Albanian erm I have learned Albanian I have learned it
- 002 ta milao me tin ikoGENIA mOU ta ke: ta elinika ta\_matha sto sholio. lipon ti  
speaking with my family e: I have learned Greek at school well the language
- 003 glosa pou hrisimopioume me tous gonis mou e: (-) erm milao elinika e  
my parents erm (-) erm I speak Greek er
- 004 alvanika e alvanika me tous gonis mou ke elinika me tin  
Albanian e Albanian with my parents and greek with my
- 005 aderFI MOU:(-) me: tous filous mou=  
My sister (-) with my friends=
- 006 T: = ine megali?=  
Is she old?
- 007 A1: erm ne ine megali. ine dekaefta hronON. e: lipon me tous filous mou sto sholio  
Erm yes she is old she is seventeen years old well with my friends at school
- 008 milao elinika ke: erm milao elinika. ke ke me tous filous mou pou katagonte apo  
I speak Greek and erm I also speak Greek with my friends who come from
- 009 alvania milao alvanika ke ama kseroun ke elinika tous milao ki elinika  
Albania I speak Albanian and if they know Greek I speak Greek too  
sometimes
- 010 merikes fores. lipon sto=  
Well at=
- 011 T: =pou? sto sholio ti milas? then katalava.=  
=Where? At school what language do you speak? I'm confused.=
- 012 A1: = sto sholio milao elinika.=  
=At school I speak Greek=
- 013 T: = me olous tous filous?=  
With all your friends?
- 014 A1: =ne me olous tous filous mou.=  
=yes with all my friends=
- 015 T: = ite ine elines=  
=either when they are Greek?=

- 016 : A1: =ite ine elines ite: alv << avoids saying Albanian>>  
=either when they are Greek or alb << avoids saying Albanian>>
- 017: ine apo tin alvania.=  
They come from Albania
- 018 T: =omos otan pezis ekso ?=  
But when you play outside?
- 019 A1: =otan pezo ekso milao=  
=When I play outside=
- 020 T : =ekso sto spiti enoo.=  
Outside your house I mean
- 021 A1: =a! milao ke alvanika ke elinika. ala pio poli  
When I play outside I speak when I play outside I speak both Albanian and  
Greek but mostly
- 022 alvanika milao. erm I gonis=  
I speak Albanian erm my parents=
- 023 T: =giati nomizeis milas pio poli alvanika?=  
Why do you think you speak Albanian more?
- 024 A1: = erm milao pio poli alvanika giati thelo na matho ama pao eki diladi ama  
figo  
Erm I speak Albanian more because I want to learn it if I go there I mean,  
if I leave
- 025: tha sinehiso to sholio eki tha ksehaso ta alvanika eno edo (-) eno edo(-)  
I will keep on going to school there I will forget Albanian but here(-) but  
here
- 026 T: diladi eksigise mou giati giati milas me tous filous sou alvanika? gia na mi ta  
ksehasis etsi?=  
I mean, explain to me why you speak Albanian with your friends. So that  
you don't forget it?=-
- 027 A1: =ne milao alvanika gia na mi ta ksehaso. ke ma\_resoun pio poli ta alvanika apo  
Yes I speak Albanian so that I do not forget it and I like Albanian better  
than
- 028 ta elinika.=  
Greek
- 029 T: =giati?=-

Why?

- 030 A1: =erm giati : giati: ine i glosa mou ke apo eki katagome. lipon I glosa pou  
Erm, because: because it is my language and that is where I come from.  
Well, the language that
- 031 miloun metaksi o babas ke i mama ine alvanika. erm otan milane se mena  
My dad and mum use between them is Albanian erm when they speak to me
- 032 milane pio poli tin alvaniki glosa giati o babas ke i mama then kseroun ke  
They speak mostly Albanian because dad and mum don't know so much:
- 033 poli: then kseroun ke pola. then kseroun eliniki glosa ke poli. erm kseroun ta  
They don't know much they don't know Greek and erm they know
- 034 pio simantika. sto spiti milao ti glosa tin alvaniki me ti mama ke to baba ke  
the most important. at home I speak Albanian with mum and dad and
- 035 tin eliniki ke tin eliniki milao tin alvaniki milao me to baba ke ti mama ke tin  
Greek and Greek I speak Albanian I speak it with dad and mum
- 036 eliniki milao me tin aderfi mou.  
Greek, I speak with my sister.

## **2.2 09:17-09:57**

- 001 A1: otan erm otan opii fili mou katagonte apo tin alvania milao me tin alvaniki  
When some of my friends come from Albania I speak Albanian when they
- 002 ota:n then kseroun kamia otan then kseroun na: otan then kseroun kapias megales  
when they don't know any when they don't know to when they don't know some
- 003 leksis stis sta elinika tous ta leo sta alvanika, (.)tous ta leo sta alvanika erm  
long words in Greek I tell them in Albanian, (.)I tell them in Albanian erm
- 004 ala pio poli milao elinika .(--) mmm lipon milao: me tous filous mou pou i  
but mostly I speak Greek .(--) mmm well I speak with my friends who come from
- 005 alvania alvanika otan thelo na po gia kapia pragmata pou then thelo na mathoun  
Albania , Albanian , when I want to speak about some things that I don't want  
my friends to know
- 006 I fili mou. I ali fili mou ke thelo na to mirasto me aftous pou ine ap tin patrida  
My other friends and I want to share that with those who come from
- 007 mou.  
my homeland

### 2.3 10:09-10:17

<<answering to the question: when do you use Albanian at school?>>

001 A1: otan thelo: otan then katalavenoun .

when I want to, when they don't understand

002 kati apo tin kiria tou ke tous eksigo pou to ksero ego ke then to kseroun afti.

something the teacher says and I explain to them because I know and they

003 then kseroun ke merikes protasis ke tous a leo.

don't. and they don't know some sentences and I tell them.

### 2.4 10:58-11:22

001 A1 : giati: (-) ta elinika ta milao ligo pio kalitera apo ta alvanika ke se kapies erm ke

Yes because (-) I speak Greek a little better than Albanian and in some erm and

002 kati <<reads the question whispering>> ne pistevo pos thaho perissoterous filous

something <<reads the question whispering>>yes I believe I will have more friends

003 giati tha giati tha synenoo mazi tous.

because I will communicate with them.

### 2.5 11:30-11:55

001 A1 : ohi then pistevo nn ta ellinika thame kanoun na mi diafero apo tous elinikouss

No I don't believe that Greek makes me no different from my Greek

002 simathites mou. (--) <<unintelligible>> giati opo:s opos ine afti anthropi ime ki

Classmates. <<unintelligible?>>because I am a person like them and if I speak

003 ego anthropos ke: an ksero mia glosa parapano then in eke kati to tragiko.

one more language it's not something so tragic.

### 2.6 12:04-12:24

001 A1: pistevo ne pistevo kapies fores an tha me koroidepsoun i fili mou an miliso

I believe yes I believe some times my friends will make fun of me if I speak

002 kapies fores alvanika ke tha mou poune a: tora then ise stin alvania giati to

Albanian sometimes and they will say a: now you aren't in Albania, why

003 kanis afto: edo milame mono elinika e ke tha arhisoun na lene: alvaneza ke ta

are you doing this

004 tetia pragmata.

and things like that.

## **2.7 13:00-13:47**

- 001A1 : ne kano merika lathi otan milao alvanika giati: then ime ke aristi. <<reads the  
Yes I make some mistakes when I speak Albanian because I'm not perfect.
- 002 question whispering>> (-) kano merika lathi stis megales leksis otan ine kapiës  
<<reads the question whispering>> (-) I do some mistakes in long words when  
there are sometimes
- 003 fores mperthevome sta gramata. (-) erm katalaveno kapiën otan mila alvanika  
when I confuse the letters .(-) erm I understand someone when they speak  
Albanian
- 004 giati: mporo na katalavo ti lei. (-) tha ton katalavo poIY kala pistevo an de lei:  
because I can understand what they are saying. (-) I will understand very well I  
believe if they don't speak in long
- 005 megales leksis ke: diskoles.  
and difficult words.

## **2.8 14:03-14:23**

- 001 A1 : ohi then mporo na grapso ena kimeno sta lvanika giati ine merikes leksis pou  
No I can't write a text in Albanian because there are some words that
- 002 mperdevome ala merika onomata mporo na ta grapso. a:: ke: to: mporo na  
confuse me but I can wite some names. a:: and the: I can
- 003 ksehoriso mporo diladi otan pao se ena magari mporo na diavaso ti magari  
distinguish I mean I can when I go to a shop I can read what shop it is
- 004 ine i se ena supermarket. ala then ksero pio parapano.  
or in a supermarket. but I don't know anything more.

## **2.9 14:36-15:10**

- 001 A1 : Oxi then mporo na grapso kimeno sta alvanika erm giati ehi diskola gramata  
No I can't write a text in Albanian erm because the letters are difficult
- 002 ke then ta ksero ola. <<reads the question whispering>> lipon ohi then mporo na  
and I don't know all of them.<<reads the question whispering>>well no I can't
- 003 diavaso kimeno: giati ine diskilo ke: ke then tora eho arhisi na diavazo ke na



004 read a text because it is hard and and I don't I have just started reading and  
 grafo. ala entaksi then thelo na ftaso toso mehri na diavaso then thelo na diavazo  
 005 writing .but okay I don't want to make it that far until I read I don't want to  
 toso poli alvanika.  
read so much Albanian.

## 2.10 15:38-16:16

001 A1 : lipon tha ithela: alavanika giati lipon giati: (.) THElo na MATHo tin thelo na  
Well I would like Albanian because well because I want to learn the I want to  
 002 matho merikes leksis pou then ksero ke thelo na matho ti mit thn mht mit  
learn some words that I don't know and I want to learn my moth my moth  
 003 T: [mitriki  
 [Mother tongue  
 004 A1: mitriki mou glosa.<<reads the question whispering>>  
my mother tongue.<<reads the question whispering>>  
 005 lipon niotho pos theloun pio poli alvanika giati: ehoun: ena  
Well I feel that they<<parents>>prefer Albanian because they have a  
 006 theloun na: ama figo apo do theloun na pao stin alvania ke na milao kanonika tin  
they want to if I leave this place they want me to go to Albania and to speak  
properly the  
 007 kanoniki glosa.  
proper language.

## 2.11 17:50-19:03

001 A1: thelo na kano me tin alvaniki GLOsa giati the: ke me tin eliniki thelo ala ta  
I want to do with the Albanian language because the I also want Greek but  
 002 elinika then ta: then ta thelo ke poli then ta: (2.1)  
Greek I don't I don't want it so much (2.1)  
 003 T: <<unintelligible>>  
 004 A1: thelo na kano tin alvaniki giati thelo eki pou tha pao thelo na ah (--) thelo thelo  
I want to learn Albanian because I want where I will go I want to (--) I want I  
want  
 005 na kano me tin alvaniki giaTI (.)<<unintelligible>>thelo na kano me tin alvaniki  
I want to learn Albanian because(.)<<unintelligible>> I want to learn Albanian

- 006 giati: giati maresi na milao alvanika ke: ta elinika ta milao kathe mera sto sholio:  
Because because I like speaking Albanian and Greek I speak it every day at school
- 007 ke ta alvanika mono sto spiti ke liges ores diladi tis pio poles ores milao  
and Albanian I speak only at home and for few hours I mean I  
speak more
- 008 elinika para alvanika.  
Greek than Albanian.

### **3. Participant A2**

#### **3.1 1:10-1:42**

- 001 A2 :i gonis mou sto spiti milane se e e mena pio poli alvanika. (-) erm i gonis mou  
My parents speak to me mostly in Albanian. (-) erm my parents
- 002 apefthinonte se mena milane e e elinika. (-)<<reads the question again whispering>>  
address me in Greek. (-)<(-)<reads the question again whispering>>
- 003 perisoteres fores sto spiti milao alv er eliniKA elinika.  
most of the time at home I speak alb erm Greek Greek.

#### **3.2 02: 17-2:26**

- 001 A2 :me to baba ke tin aderfi mou milao elinika ke me ti mama pou then kseri ke  
With my dad and my sister I speak Greek and with my mum who doesn't  
 know
- 002 poli elinika milao alvanika.  
 much Greek. I speak Albanian.

#### **3.3 02:48-2:52**

- 001 A2 :otan then ksero kapiex lexis sta elinika to leo alvanika.  
When I don't know some words in Greek I say them in Albanian

#### **3.4 02:57**

- 001 A2: sto sholio hrisimopio elinika. (-) ke: me tous filous mou pali elinika. (--) er sto  
At school I use elinika (-) and with my friends Greek again (--) er at school
- 002 sholio hrisimopio mono me ta pedia pou milisan prin ligo mono  
I use only with the kids who spoke before me ((the Albanian participants who  
were interviewed before him)) I speak only

- 003 alvanika.  
Albania.
- 004 T: giati milate alvanika maftous?=  
Why do you speak Albanian with them?
- 005 A2: =e otan mas vazete esis na peksoume.=  
e when you ask us to play
- 006 T: = ke milate alvanika?=  
and you speak Albanian?
- 007 A2 : =ne.=  
Yes
- 008 T : =giati milate alvanika? otan sas vazo ego na peksete?=  
Why do you speak Albanian? When I ask you to play?
- 009 A2: =Ne otan mas vazete esis e emis milame alvanika.=<<means when thry know they are being recorded>>  
Yes when you ask us erm we speak Albanian. .=<<means when they know they are being recorded>>
- 010 T : =giati? =  
Why?
- 011 A2: =etsi.=  
We just do.
- 012 T : =thelete na diksete oti kserete alvanika?=  
You want to show that you know Albanian?
- 013 A2: = ne.=  
Yes.
- 014 T : =na to pis afto. epidi thelete na diksete=  
you should say this. Because you want to show
- 015 A2: =epidi theloume na diksoume pos kseroume alavanika.=  
Because we want to show that we know Albanian.
- 016 T : =milame ke alvanika.=  
We speak Albanian.
- 017 A2: =milame ke alvanika sta pehndia pou pezoume.=  
We speak Albanian too during the game we play
- 018 T : =gia tin erevna.=  
For the research.

- 019 A2: =gia tin erevna pou kanete.=  
For the research you are doing.
- 020 T : :=omos emis (.) ti milate genika? emis then thelounge na milate alvanika. sas to  
But we (.) what do you normally speak? We don't want you to speak Albanian.
- 021 eksigisa ke prin. emis thelounge na milate oti milate. ohi na to kanete epitides .  
I have explained to you that we want you to speak whatever <<language>> you  
speak. Not to do it on purpose. I mean, to
- 022 diladi na milate alvanika. to katalaves ti leo?=  
speak Albanian<<on purpose>>. Do you understand what I'm saying?
- 023 A2: =ne.=  
Yes.
- 024 T : :=orea. omos milate elinika perisotero. elinika then milate?=  
Okay. But you speak Greek more. It is Greek that you speak, isn't it?
- 025 A2: =ke pio poli milame elinika=  
But we speak Greek more
- 026 T : =ohi pio poli. panta milate.=  
Not more. you always speak it.
- 027 A2: =panta milame elinika.=  
We always speak. Greek.
- 028 T : ektos apo tin proigoumeni periptosi poy ipame.  
Apart from the case we discussed before.

### 3.5 8:29- 9:40

- 001 A2: i daskala mou tha ithela na milai then tha ithelana milai alv =  
My teacher, I would like her to speak, I wouldn't like her to speak alb
- 002 T : [ then] tha  
 itheles i tha itheles?=  
You would or you wouldn't?
- 003 A2: = then tha ithela.=  
I wouldn't.
- 004 T : = giati?=  
Why?
- 005 A2: =giati i ali simathites mou pou katagonte ap tin elada then tha katalavenoun=  
Because my other classmates who come from Greece won't understand

- 006 T : =as tous aftous gia sena. tha itheles na milai gia sena? =  
Don't worry about them. How about you, to speak <<Albanian>> for you.
- 007 A2: = erm mm ohi=  
Erm erm no
- 008 T: =giati?=  
Why?
- 009 A2: Eee e
- 010 T : an sto eksigi sta alvanika then tha itheles na milai alvanika?  
If she explains it <<the lesson>> in Albanian, wouldn't you like her to speak Albanian?
- 011 A2: kapies leksis pou then tha katalaveno .  
Some words that I don't understand.
- 012 T: elinikes diladi. na sta lei ke alvanika?  
You mean Greek to have her tell you in Albanian?
- 013 A2: [ne ] na tis lei alvanika alla pio poli  
then thelo na milai  
[yes] yes to say them in Albanian but  
mostly I don't want her to speak .<<Albanian>>=
- 014 T : =giati?=  
Why?
- 015 A2: = erm kiria then boro na to eksigiso.=  
Erm, ma'm I can't explain i.t
- 016 T: =kala.  
Okay.

### 3.6 09:55-10:08

- 001 A2: ne theloun na milao elinika gia na matho kalitera.=  
Yes they want me to speak Greek so that I learn it better.
- 002 T : = ti na milas ellinika?=  
To speak what? Greek?
- 003 A2: =na milao elinika.=  
To speak Greek.
- 004 T: =alvanika then theloun na milas perisotero?=  
They don't want you to speak Albanian more?

005 A2: ohi. lene otan tha pao stin alvania.  
No. they say when I go back to Albania.

#### **4 Participant A4**

##### **4.1 37:22-38:17**

001 A4: ke me tin ikogenia mou tora hrisimopio me ke elinika ke alvanika ke me  
And with my family now I use with both Greek and Albanian and with my  
002 ta aderfia mou ke me tous papoudes ke me tous gonis mou elinika ke alvanika  
brothers and my grandparents and my parents Greek and Albanian  
003 me olous.=  
with all of them.  
004 T : =pio poli?=  
Mostly?  
005 A4: =pio poli: alvanika giati i papoudes ke i giagiades then er then kseroun elinika.  
Mostly I speak Albanian because my grandads and grandmas don't know any  
Greek.  
006 me filous pou ehoun erthi apo alvania milame perisotero eliniKA ke me tous  
With my friends who have come here from Albania we speak Greek more and  
007 filous pou katagonte aptin elada: filous pou katagonte aptin elada pali elinika.  
with my friends from Greece, friends who come from Greece, Greek again.  
008 sto pehnidi sta parti otan otan doule se mia omada otan doulevo se mia omada  
during the games, at parties, when I work in a group when I work in a group  
009 mes stin taksi milame ke ta dio ala perisotero elinika  
in the classroom with we speak both languages but mostly ((we speak)) Greek.

##### **4.2 38:33-39:18**

001 A4: ke i: gonis mou ke i gonis mou miloun metaksi tous perisotero alvanika ala se  
And my parents and my parents speak mostly Albanian to each other but to me  
002 mena miloun perisotero elinika se mena o:tan apefthininte se mena miloun  
they speak mostly Greek to me when they address me they speak  
003 ke elinika ke alvanika=  
both Greek and Albanian  
004 T : =pio poli?=-

Mostly?

005 A4: =pio poli alvanika. otan ime spiti milao perisotero alvanika. sto spiti hrisimopio

Mostly Albanian. When I am at home I speak mostly Albanian, at home I use

006 perisotero alvanika otan milao me ti mama mou ke to baba mou e no me ton  
mostly Albanian when I speak to my mum and dad but with my brother

007 aderfo mou milame: eno me ton aderfo mou milame perisotero elinika  
we speak but with my brother we speak Greek mostly

#### **4.3 39:58-40:11**

001 A4: pia glosa hrisimopiis sto sholio otan milas me tous filous sou pou katagonte apo  
<<reading the question aloud>> which language do you speak with your friends  
who come from Albania.

002 alvania perisotero alvanika ala: <<corrects herself>>elinika ke ligo alavanika=  
mostly Albanian but<<corrects herself>>Greek but and little Albanian too

003 T : = perisotero omos?=  
But mostly?

004 A4: =perisotero elinika.  
Mostly Greek.

#### **4.4 40:20-40:28**

001 A4: ta milao: ta alvanika ta milao me tous filous mou apo tin alvania i me tous filous  
I speak it I speak Albanian with my friends from Albania or with my friends who

002 mou pou kseroun alvanika ke katagonte aptin elada  
know Albanian and come from Greece<<she probably means Albanians who  
were born in Greece>>

#### **4.5 41:24-41:35**

001 A4: me tous alvanous filous mou milao milao perisotero elinika ala milao ke ligo  
With my Albanian friends I speak mostly Greek but I also speak a little

002 alvanika  
Albanian

#### **4.6 41:56- 42:05**

001 T: ala giati milas elinika?

But why do you speak Greek?

002 A4: epidi: kapii smathites mou then kseroun epidi i mathites then kse i ali mathites i

Because some of my classmates don't know because the stuthents don't kn the

003 ipolipi then kseroun na milane alavanika.

other stuthents the rest of them don't know how to speak Albanian.

#### **4.7 43:03-43:16**

001 A4: ta: elinika ta milao mia hara=

I speak Greek very well.

002 T: =poli kala.=

Very well.

003 A4: =ne=

yes

004 T : =ke ta alvanika?=-

What about Albanian?

005 A4: ta alvanika kati: eho: ta alavanika kati eho ksehasi kati leksis apo tin alvania.=

As for Albanian, I have, I have forgotten, some words from Albania.

006 T : =malista. pio kala diladi pia?=-

I see. But which one do you speak better?

007 A4: elinika.

Greek.

#### **4.8 43:44-44:06**

001 A4: then boro na grapso oute kimeno er boris na: ou then boro na grapso sta alvanika

I can't write either a text er can you ou I can't write in Albanian

002 oute kimeno oute ekthesi oute simioma erm

either text or an essay or a note erm

003 ala ksero ligo na grafo me ta megala gramata (-) ksero ligo na grapso alvanika

But I know how to write a little with the capital letters (-) I know how to write Albanian a little

004 ala ohi na grapso ena simioma mia ekthesi ke: then boro.

but not to write a note a composition and I can't.



**4.9 44:24-44:31**

001 A4: me diskolevi na (.) gra sta alvanika me diskolevi na diavaso ke na grafo  
I find it hard to... wr... in Albanian I find it hard to read and write.

**4.10 44:58-45:08**

001 A4: Then nomizo na: theloun na milao perisotero alvanika i elinik apo ta elinika.  
I don't think they <<parents>> want me to speak Albanian more than Greek.

**4.11 45:14-45:22**

<<explaining what language she uses when she visits Albania>>

001 A4: alvanika epidi I ali fili mou ine apo tin alvania ta ksaderfia mou i fili mou  
Albanian because my other friends who come from Albania , my cousins and my friends

002 then kseroun na milane elinika/  
can't speak Greek.

**4.12 45:36-45:51**

<<answering whether she has felt isolated when in Albania because of the language>>

001 A4: e: ne to\_ho: (--) ne to\_ho: skef (.) to\_ho niosi  
Erm, yes , I have(--)yes I have th... (.) I have felt like this.

**5. Participant A5**

**5.1 31:05-31:24**

001 A5: ta: ke ta alvanika ta ematha (.) me: (.) sto spiti otan milane ke i ali (.) ke i gonis  
And Albanian I've learned it (.) with (.) at home when the others speak (.) and my parents

002 mou. pio poli hrisimopio ti: erm: tin alvaniKI.  
<<at home>> I use mostly the: erm Albanian language

**5.2 31:43-31:59**

001 A5: me tin ikogenia mou milame: milao erm alvanika me olous ke me tous gonis

002 ke ta aderfia mou ke tous papoudes=  
and my brothers and my grandparents

004 A5: =erm alvanika kiria  
Erm, Albanian ma'm

001 A5: i gonis mou milane alvanika  
My parents speak Albanian <<to each other>>.

001 A5: <<repeats the question>> pia glosa hrisimopiis sto sholio otan milas me tous  
Which language do you use at school when you

003 sholio otan milas me tous filous sou pou katagonte apo tin alvania erm ke  
at school when you speak with friends who come from Albania? Erm.

001 A5: <<reads the question>> pote hrisimopiis alvanika sto sxolio? de hrisimipio  
 <<reads the question>> When do you use Albanian at school? I don't use it  
 002 <<reads the question>> otan thes na milisis gia pia themata? De hrisimipio alvanika  
 <<reads the question>> When you want to speak about what topics? I don't use  
 Albanian

## 5.6 34: 05 – 43:08

<<answering the question about his self-assessment of his level in both languages>>

001 A5: perisotero: eho mathi na milao alvanika.

I have learned to speak Albanian more <<than Greek>>.

## **5.7 35:31 -35:38**

001 T : ta kseris diladi? pio kala pia kseris?

You know it? Which one do you know best?

002 A5: (.)ke ta dio.

Both.

003 T : [ to idio kala ta kseris?

You know <<both languages>> the same ?

004 A5: [ ne.

Yes..

## **5.8 36:06- 36:22**

001 A5: ohi then ksero na grafo alvanika (.)<<reads the question>> boris na diavasis

No I don't know how to write Albanian(.)<<reads the question>>

can you read

002 alvanika? ti boris na diavasis alavanika? ohi <<reads the question>> ti boris na

Albanian? What can you read in Albanian? No<<reads the question>> What can

003 diavasis? elinika mono boro.

you read? I can <<read>> only read Greek.

## **5.9 36:51-36:59**

<<explaining why he wouldn't like his teacher to be speaking Albanian>>

001 A5: ohi giati: erm giati pio poli mou aresoun ta ellinika.

No because erm because I like Greek more.

## **5.10 37:07 -37:11**

<<answering to the question about which language his parents want him to speak>>

001 A5: ke ta dio me: de mou lene tipota. ke ta dio me afinoun.

They let me <<speak>> both. They don't tell me anything. They let me <<speak>> both.

## **PART B: Participants in the EB group**

### **1. Participant G1**

#### **1.1 19:19-19:32**

- 001 G1: i gonis mou irthan edo giati (.) then ihe doulia stin alvania ke: nomizan pio kala  
My parents came here because (.) there was no work in Albania and they thought  
002 itan edo stin ELADA er ke: milao glosa elinika.  
It would be better here in GRECCE er and I speak Greek

#### **1.2 19:36- 20:13**

- 001 G1: er e tis ematha aptou aptin ikogenia mou ke: ke ap tin tileorasi. me: tin ikogenia  
Er I've learned them <<both languages>> from my family and and from the TV.  
with with my family  
002 mou milao: alvaniKA e me tous gonis mou alvanika ke elinika. me ta aderfia  
I speak AlbaniAN er and with my parents Albanian and Greek. with my brothers  
003 mou elinika me tous papoudes mou al alvanika ke: me tous filous mou (.) elinika  
Greek, with my grandparents Albanian and and with my friends Greek.  
004 (.) ke sta pehndia ke: sto se parti ke se parti otan doule ke: otan doulevo me ti  
(.) also in games and at parties and at parties when I when I work in a group in  
005 omada se ta mesa stin taksi'  
in in class.

#### **1.3 20:43-20:49**

- 001 G1 : er otan vriscome sto spiti mou milao e: alvanika perisoteres fores.  
Er when I am at home I speak er Albanian most of the times.

#### **1.4 20:59-21:42**

- 001 G1: e: otan milao sto sholio hrisimopio: me tous filous mou elinika ke alvanika:  
Er when I speak at school with my friends I use Greek and Albanian if  
002 ama e eho: filous aptin alvania=  
er I have friends from Albania

- 003 T: =pou? sto sholio?=  
Where? At school?
- 004 G1: =NE=  
YES
- 005 T: =milate alvanika sto sholio?=  
Do you speak Albanian at school?
- 006 G1: =otan eho para ne=  
When I have company.
- 007 T: =sto sholio alvanika? ohi ohi sto sholio milate alvanika kapii metaksi sas?=  
Albanian at school? No, no, some of you speak Albanian to each other?
- 008 G1: =NE=  
YES
- 009 T: =pii milate alvanika? giati milate alvanika?=  
Which of you speak Albanian? Why do you speak Albanian?
- 010 G1: =a: milame alvanika gia na eksigomaste pio kala giati me ta elinika then ta  
A: we speak Albanianto explain ourselves better because in Greek we don't
- 011 ehoume mathi toso kala.=  
know it so well.
- 012 T: =oli diladi pou ine edo pera i fili sou milane alvanika toso kala? giati i proigoumeni  
You mean all your friends here speak Albanian that well? Because the others
- 013 then mas ipan afto=  
haven't said that.
- 014 G1: =merikes fores ne=  
Sometimes yes.
- 015 T: =giati? gia na mi sas katalavenoun [I] jali?  
Why? So that the others don't understand?
- 016 G1: [ne] ne  
Yes, yes

## 1.5 22:25-25:48

- 001 G1: e: ton eafto mou: vathmologo (.) sta elinika e epta me pe epta me: eksi giati then  
I evaluate myself in Greek e seven to seven to six because I don't know it
- 002 ksero toso poli elinika ala sta alvanika vathmologo me dio giati sta al alvanika de  
So well but in Albanian I evaluate myself with two because in Al Albanian I

003 boro na miliso kan.  
can't speak at all.

#### 1.6 25:50-26:19

001 G1: otan milao alvanika kano para pola lathi ke: ke the boro na eksigiso stous filous  
When I speak Albanian I make too many mistakes and and I can explain it to my friends

002 mou stin alvania. (-)  
in Albania.

003 T: tote pos ipes oti edo pera milas me merikous alvanika?=  
Then why did you say that here you speak Albanian with some <<friends>>?

004 G1:=e: de leo diskola logia ta: [leo]  
Er, I don't say difficult words

005 T:= [eki] otan milao alvanika [lipon] leo efkola logia ta pio=  
So there, when I speak Albanian I say easy words the

006 G1:=[kiotan] milao alvanika leo ta pio efkola logia stin alvaniki glossa.  
And when I speak Albanian I say the easiest words in Albanian.

#### 1.7 26:26-26:36

001 G1: e: ego merika katalaveno otan milao alvanika e: (.) ke de ta katala katalaveno ohi  
Er, I understand a little when I speak Albanian er and I don't understand I understand

002 toso poli.  
so much.

#### 1.8 24:42-26:54

001 G1: e: the boro na grapso ena kimeno sta alvanika giati de boro kann na grapso. eho  
Er, I can't write a text in Albanian because I can't even write . I have

002 mathi apo edo tin elada. enos hronon irtha edo ke piga amesos sholio.  
learned here in Greece. I came here one year old and I went straight to school.

#### 1.9 26:57-27:12

001 G1: ego de boro na diavaso alvanika (--) oute: pe epigrafes efimerides paramithia (.)  
I can't read Albanian (--) not pe signs, newspapers, stories.

002 [tipota].=  
Nothing.

003 T: =[mono] ligo na miliso. =  
Only speak a little.

004 G1: =mono ligo na miliso.  
Only speak a little.

### 1.10 27:19- 27:30

001 G1: me diskolevi pio poli sta alvanika: na diavazo na grafo ke na milao giati: then ta  
I have difficulties mostly in reading Albanian, writing and speaking because I  
002 eho mathi akoma kiotan bori na pao alvania bori na: diskolefto eki.  
haven't learned it yet and when I may go back to Albania I may have difficulties  
there.

### 1.11 27:37-27:46

001 G1: e ego then ithhela na milai I daskala mou alvanika giati: hhh de tha ta: de tha  
I wouldn't like my teacher to speak Albanian because hh I wouldn't  
002 katalavena ti milouse.  
understand what she was saying.

### 1.12 28:15-28:28

001 G1: e: otan telionoume e: tin alvania tin episkeftome otan telioni to sholio to kalokairi  
Er, when we finish, er I visit Albania when school finishes in summer  
002 i otan mas di otani=  
or when they gi when  
003 T: =diakopes=  
holidays.  
004 G1: =otan kani ke diakopes diakopes .  
When I'm on holidays holidays.

### 1.13 29:18-29:36

001 G1: e ego parakoloutho ke elinika ke alvaniKA.=

I watch both Greek and Albanian <<TV>>

002 T: =pos ta parakolouthis ta alvanika? apo pou?=  
How do you watch Albanian ? Where?

003 G1:=e: apo ena mihanima pou ehi agorasi o babas mou pou to lene digia ke vlepō

From some machine my dad has bought mamed digea and I watch

004 pedika mono ke apo tote eho mathi tosa pola alvanika e liga.

kids' programs and since then I have learned so much Albanian er just a little.

### **1.14 29:47-29:54**

001 G1: oti sta alvanika ehoun perisoteres lexis apo MAS ke (.) e ine diskolo na tis

That in Albanian they have more words than we do and (.) it is hard to

002 katalavis.

understand.

### **1.15 30:13-30:34**

001 G1: ehoun perisotera gramata ke ine diskolo nata mathis ke: ine: gia mena ine diskolo.

They have more letters and it is hard to learn them and it is for me it is hard.

002 gia yous alous then ksero pou milisan tora ti ehoun pi ego eho diskolefti na ta

I don't know about the others who have just spoken what they said but I find it  
difficult to learn (.) and

003 matho (.) ke then thelo na pao stin alvania gia na mino mono na pao eki ke na

I don't want to go back to Albania to stay just to go there and come back to Greece

004 ksanagiriso stin elada eki pou megalosa.

where I grew up

## **2. Participant G2.**

### **2.1 13:19-13:33**

001 G2: me tin ikogenia mou milao ke alvanika ke elinika: to idio ke meta aderfia mou

I speak both Albanian and and Greek with my family and the same happens

002 <<background noise>> ala: me tous <<background noise>> me tous papoudes

with my brothers <<background noise>> but <<>> with my grandparents I speak

003 mou milao e: alvanika.

erm Albanian.



## 2.2 14:19- 14:24

001 G2: me tous filous mou milao ellinika ala me tous papoudes mou milao alvanika

With my friends I speak Greek but with my parents I speak Albanian

## 2.3 14:44-14:54

001 G2: i gonis mou sto spiti milane e: perisotero alvanika para elinika

My parents at home speak er more Albanian than Greek.

## 2.4 15:03-15:13

001 G2: i gonis mou otan apefthinonte se emena mil milane erm ke alvanika kapies fores

When my parents address me they sp speak erm both Albanian sometimes and

002 ke elinika.

Greek.

## 2.5 15:17-15:22

001 G2: otan ime sto spiti me tis aderfes mou milao perisotero elinika.

When I am at home with my sisters I speak Greek mostly.

## 2.6 15:46-17:07

001 G2: sto sholio erm me tous filous mou (.) milame erm milame elinika (---)

At school erm with my friends we speak (.) we speak erm we speak Greek (---)

002 ke pola pedia pou katagonte apo tin alvania to idio milame elinika. (---) sto sholio

and a lot of the kids who come from Albania also speak Greek. (---) at school

003 pote de milao alvanika gia kanena thema. (---)

I never speak Albanian on any topic. (---)

004 e: sholio apofefgo na miliso elinika giati (--) giati prota an miliso de that me

Er at school I avoid speaking to I speak Greek because (--) because first of all, if I speak <<Albanian>> nobody

005 katalavi kanenas.=

will understand.

006 T: =an milisis alvanika? =

If you speak Albanian?

007 G2: =NE de tha me katalavi kanenas (.) e ke drepome.=

YES nobody will understand me (.) and I'm ashamed.

008 T: =giati ntrepese? koroidevoun i ali?=  
Why are you ashamed? Do the others make fun of you?

009 G2: =e ohi [ala]  
Er no [but]

010 T: =[i] nomizis oti bori?=  
Or do you think they might <<make fun>>?

011 G2: =ohi aplos then drepome kamia fora then then ksero toso kala alvanika giafto.  
No I just don't, I'm ashamed sometimes I don't know Albanian so well that's why.

## 2.7 18:24-18:33

<<answering to the question: Do you avoid speaking Albanian at school?>>

001 G2: e: e ne giati tha lene pos mila ki etsi ki alios.  
Er er yes because they will say how she speaks and things like that.

## 2.8 18:47-19:06

001 G2: e sta alvanika then ime katholou kali giati then ksero oute na diavazo tipota eno  
Er in Albanian I'm not good at all because I can;t speak anything while in

002 sta elinika otan ksero ena mathima kala ke boro na to po ekini ti stigmi kolao de  
Greek when I know a lesson well and I can say it at that moment I am stuck

003 ksero giati (--)  
I don't know why (--)

004 T: kalitera diladi sta elinika?=  
You mean you are better at Greek?

005 G2: =NE.  
YES.

## 2.9 19:36- 19:45

<<answering to the question: from a scale 1 to 10, how do you evaluate yourself in Albanian?>>

001 G2: e ton vathmologo ena giati=  
Er I evaluate <<myself>> with one because

002 T: =poso?=  
How much?

003 G2: =ena.=

One.

004 T: =sta alvanika? eno sta elinika?=  
In Albanian? But in Greek?

005 G2: =e: ohto.

Er eight

## **2.10 20:17-20:29**

<<answering to the question:how much do you understand someone who speaks Albanian?>>

001 G2: e shedon then ton katalaveno e (.) katholou giati otan milane then boro na

Er I almost don't understand them er (.)at all because when they speak I can't understand

002 katalavo ti lene. (.) ine ine: ligo diskolo.

What they say. (.) it's it's a little hard.

## **2.11 20:39-20:52**

001 G2: a: e: de boro na grapso katholou ena kimeno giati (.) parolo pou ine ta gramata

A: er I can't write a text at all because (.) eventhough the letters are

002 idia me ta: aglika ala mena me diskolevoun kapia gramata ke giafto de boro na

the same as English some letters give me a hard time and that's why I can't

003 grapso.

write.

## **2.12 21:42-21:51**

<<explaining why she wouldn't like her teacher to be speaking Albanian>>

001 G2: ohi de tha to ithela giati: ksero parisotera elinika. an milage de tha katalavena

No I wouldn't like that because I know more Greek. If she spole I wouldn't

002 tipota.

understand anything.

## **2.13 22:15-2:18**

<<answering to the question: Do your parents want you to speak one of the two languages more?>>

001 G2: perisotero na milame elinika.

To speak Greek mostly.

## **2.14 22:28-22:39**

<<answering to the question: how often do you visit Albania?>>

001 G2: eho pai mia for a pou imouna poli mikri.=

I have been there once when I was very little.

002 T: =ehete spiti eki?=  
Do you have a house there?

Do you have a house there?

003 G2: =ne ehume spiti eki.=

Yes we have a house there.

004: T: =ala ehis pai mono mia for a eki.=

But you have been there only once.

005 G2: =e ne

Er, yes.

## **2.15 22:50-22:53**

<<answering to the question: Have you felt isolated from your relatives in Albania because of the language?>>

001 G2: ne giati de boroune na me katalavoune .

Yes because they can't understand me.

## **3. Participant G3**

### **3.1 47:43-48:19**

001 G3: milao ke alvanika ke eliniKA: er ematha afti ti glosa tin eliniki epidi piga shoLlo.

I speak both Albanian and Greek, er I learned this language, Greek, because I went to school

002 tin alvaniki tin ematha apo (-) aptin tileorasi (--) ke mm ke milao me tin ikogenia

I have learned Albanian from (-) from the TV (--) and mm and I speak <<it>>with my family

003 mou me tin ikogenia mou milao ke alvanika ke elinika (.) KE me ta aderfia mou  
With my family I speak both Albanian and Greek (.) and with my brothers and  
 004 KE me tous papoudes mou. (.) ke milao stin alvania milao me tous filous mou ke ta  
my grandparents (.) and I speak, in Albania ,I speak with my friends and  
 005 ksaderfia mou alvanika ke stin elada milao elinika (.) ala ke ligo alvanika.  
my cousins Albanian and in Greece I speak Greek (.) but also a little Albanian.

### 3.2 48:31-49:36

001 G3: ke i gonis mou milane stin e stin e milane ke alvanika ke elinika sto SPIti (--) ke  
And my parents speak in er, in er, they speak both Greek and Albanian at home (--)  
and my  
 002 i gonis mou otan milane se se mena e mou milane ke tis dio gloses=  
parents, when they talk to, to me, to me they speak both languages.  
 003 T: =pio poli e=?  
Mostly?  
 004: G3:=pio poli tin eliniki (---) <<whispers while reading the next question>> ke otan  
Mostly Greek (---)<<whispers while reading the next question>> and when  
 005 ime sto spiti pio poli milao: elinika <<reads the next question>> ke ta alvn keta  
I am at home I speak Greek mostly <<reads the next question>> and Alb and  
Albanian.  
 006 alvanika ta hrisimipio ke sto spiti ke otan milao me kapious.=  
I use it at home and when I talk to some people.  
 007 T:= me pious milas alavanika?=  
Who do you speak Albanian with?  
 008 G3:=me: ta ksaderfia mou otan erhonte. tora pou tha erthi i yiayia mou. (.) alla ke afti  
With my cousins when they come. now that my grandmother is coming. (.)  
Although she  
 009 xeri ligo elinika ke mou milai.=  
knows some Greek and she speaks to me.  
 010 T:= pio poli ti milas diladi?=  
Which one do you speak the most then?  
 011 G3:= e ke ta dio entaksi taftohrona milao ke alvanika ke elinika. misa elinika misa  
Er, both, okay at the same time I speak both Albanian, and Greek. Half Greek half  
 012 alvanika. e sholio milao elinika.=

Albanian. Er, at school I speak Greek.

013 T:= ke me tous filous sou pou apo tin alvania diladi=

With your friends who come from Albania too?

014 G3:=ne.

Yes.

### 3.3 53:54-54:14

001 G3: ksero poli ala ohi e tis diskoles leksis pou kseroun ke ta elin ta elinika ksero

I know much <<Albanian>> but not the difficult words they know and Greek, and  
Greek I know

002 diafora ala ohi afta pou lei pou ehi sto leksiko. then ta ksero ke pola. (.) ksero liga.=

Much but not what is in the dictionary. I don't know so much. (.) I know some..

003 T:= alvanika?=-

Albanian?

004 G3:=ksero ke ta e opos ta=

I know Albania like the

005 T:= perisotero?=-

More?

006 G3: =ohi e oso ksero sta elinika ksero ke sta alvanika .

NO, what I know in Greek I know in Albanian too.

### 3.4 54:22-54:28

001 G3: ohi then kano lathi otan milao alvanika giati eho sinithisi giati milao ke alvanika

No I don't make mistakes when I speak Albanian because I have got used to it as I

002 ke elinika.

speak both Greek and Albanian.

### 3.5 54:56-55:00

<<answering to the question: what can you write in Albanian? A note, a composition?>>

001 G3: mia ekthesi boro epidi eho mathi ap tin tileorasi.

A composition I can write because I have learned it from the TV.

### 3.6 55:20-54:46

<<answering to the question: what do you find the most difficult (skill) in Albanian>>

001 G3: e: na milao ligo epidi kapies leksis ine diskoles.=

Er, to speak because some words are difficult.

002 T: =diladi na diavazis ine pio efkolo?=  
You mean, reading is easier?

You mean, reading is easier?

003 G3: =ne eho mathi na diavazo ap ta kefalea ke etsi ta ematha ke ta mikra gramata ke

Yes, I have leaned how to read the capital letters and then I learned the small ones too and

004 ksero.=

I know.

005 T: =ke ti se diskolevi?=  
And what do you have difficulty with?

And what do you have difficulty with?

006 G3: = e: na: na milao ligo epidi ka kapii stin alvania kapii pou ine apo ala horia ke ke

Er, to speak, because in Albania there are some people from other villages and cities

007 polis milane ligo alios opos stin poli mou giafto.

speak somehow different from people in my town, that's why.

### 3.7 55:55-56:03

<<answering to the question: do you want your teacher to be cpeaking Albanian?>>

001 G3: ohi o opos e: de thelo na milai na milai sti glosa tis etsi tha tin katalavo (.) na de

No just like er I don't want her to speak <<albanian>>, to speak in her language. this way I will understand her

002 de: me: (.) de me niazi.

I (.) I don't care.

### 3.8 56:11-56:15

<<answering to the question: do you think your parents want you to speak albanian?>>

001 G3: e: theloun gia gia na ta matho kalitera ta alvanika epidi ine i hora mou

Er ,they do, so that I learn Albanian better because it is my country

### 3.9 56:23-56:25

<<answering to the question: how often do you visit Albania?>>

001 G3: e: stis diakopes (.) ena mina.

Er, when I'm on holiday, for a month.

#### 4. PARTICIPANT G4

##### 4.1 0:27- 1:07

001 G4: e ksero na milao:: elinika ke alvanika episis. e:(.) aftes tis gloses tis ematha: aptous

Er, I can speak Greek and Albanian as well er, I have learned these languages from

002 sigenis mou e apo: ti mama ke to baba.=

my relatives er from my mum and dad.

003 T: =ta alvanika?=  
The Albanian language?

004 G4: = ne ta alvanika [ke:]

Yes, Albanian and...

005 T: [ta ] elinika?=  
Greek?

006 G: =ke ta elinika e: tamatha ke apo aftous ke:=

And as for Greek, I've learned it from them and...

007 T: =ala ta perisotera ta mathes?

But where did you learn most of it?

008 G4: (.) e:

Er...

009 T: sto sholio then tamathes?=  
Didn't you learn it at school?

010 G4: =ne=

Yes.

011 T: =pesto. ohi ne na mou apantas=

Well say it; don't just answer "yes".

012 G4: =prota e ta matha sto sholio ta elinika ala ke sto spiti me voithise ligo i mama.

First I learned it at school, Greek, but also at home. Mum hepled me a little.

##### 4.2 01:26-01:55



<<Answering to the question: what language do you speak at home?>>

001 G4 : milame ke elinika ke: alvanika e: (.) afto.

We speak both Greek and Albanian er, that's all.

002 T: perisotero?=  
Mostly?

003 G4: =e perisotero? (---) perisotero: (--) then iparhi giati: diladi milame ke elinika

Er, mostly? (---) Mostly (--) there is no such thing because, I mean we also speak Grrek of course.

004 fisika. :ala: (.) daksi

But...okay.

#### 4.3 02:20-02:37

<<Answering to the question: which language do you use with your friends?>>

001 T: me aftous pou katagonte aptin elada pos milas?=  
To those who come from Greece?

002 G4: =el elinika=  
Gr... Greek.

003 T: =ke aftous pou katagonte aptin alvania?  
And to those who come from Albania?

004 G4: =e: ke pali elinika e: de milao: me filous pou ine: aptin alvania alvaniKA milao

Er, also Greek er I don't speak... Albanian with my friends who come from

005 KE maftous elinika molous elinika milao.

Albania, I speak Greek to them too.

#### 4.4 02:55-03:02

001 G4: sto pehnidi: (.) elinika milao diladi e diladi edo: sto sholio milao elinika otan pezo

In games (.) I speak Greek. I mean er... I mean here at school I speak Greek when

002 ke otan e: diladi pezo: pezo paradigma me tin aderfi mou ntaksi kamia fora

I play and when er...I mean I play... For instance, I play with my sister, okay sometimes we might

003 milame alvanika ala: ntaksi [elinika].

Speak Albanian but... okay Greek.

004 T: [pio] poli diladi?=

You mean mostly?

005 G4: =elinika.

Greek..

#### 4.5 04:05-04:17

001 G4: e i gonis mou: milane perisotero alvanika ala i gonis mou mazi mou ke me tin

Er, my parents speak Albanian the most but my paarents. To me and to my

002 aderfi mou elinika milane.

Sister, they speak Greek.

#### 4.6 04:47-05:05

<<answering to the question:which language do you speak most of the time?>>

001 G4: e: milao perisotero: ke alvanika ke elinika=

Er, I speak mostly... both Albanian and Greek.

002 T: =perisotero?

But mostly?

003 G4 : (---)

(---)

004 T: telos panton =

Anyway...

005 G4: ntaksi e: ke ta dio milame.

Okay, we speak both.

#### 4.7 05:16-05: 49

<<Answering to the question: when do you use Albanian?>>

001 G4 : hrisimopio ta alvanika (.) otan paradigma e: then ksero pos natin ekfraso

I use Albanian (.) when for example er, I don't know how to say something

002 elinika. (.) to ksero ala: thelo na to po sintoma e: (--) ke epidi kanenas aptis thies  
in Greek. (.) I know it but... I want to say it faster er (--) and because none of my

003 mou diladi tis aderfes tis mammas then kseri kamia elinika ke prepi na: hrisimopio  
aunts, my mother's sisters, speaks Greek and I have to use

004 ta alvanika ala (.) mono dio files e pou ine edo stin elada kseroun na milane elinika.  
Albanian but (.) only two friends <<mum's>> who are in Greece can speak Greek.

#### 4.8 06: 23-06:28

<<Answering to the question: which language do you use with your friends who can speak Albanian?>>

001 G4: ke me ke me aftous elinika milao gia (.) ke me aftous elinika milao.

I speak Greek to them too for (.)I speak Greek to them too.

#### 4.9 07:25- 08:16

<<Answering to the question:do you avoid speaking Albanian?>>

001 G4: e: edo sto sholio de thelo na milao alvanika:=

Er, here at school I don't want to speak Albanian.

002 T: =giati?=  
Why?

003 G4: =giati: (.) e: giati i elines diladi i elines nomizo pos otan e akoune a akoune tin

Because (.) er, because Greeks, I mean Greeks I think that, when they hear a hear

004 leksi alvanika e nomizi e a irthe o alvanos. nomizoun pos ine vrisia. eno otan

the word "Albanian" er, they think er, ah! Here comes the Albanian one. They think it's a swear word. But when

005 akoune paradigma italianos ke ala tetia=

they hear , for instance, the Italian and stuff like that...

006 T: =de se rota afto de se rota afto gia rota des eki ti se rotai.

That's not what it's asking here. It isn't about that, asks, look what the question is about.

007 G4: ohi then apofefgo.=

No, I don't avoid that.

008 T: =milas diladi alvanika sto sholio me tous filous sou?=  
You mean, you speak Albanian at school, to your Albanian friends?

009 G4: =ohi.=

No.

010: T: =giati?=  
Why?

011 G4: =e: afou ime se ena eliniko sholio ke=

Er, because I'm in a Greek school and...

012 T: =oli kseroune=

They all know...

013 G4: =elinika ke prei na milame elinika.

Greek and we must speak Greek.

#### **4.10 11:29-12:07**

<<Answering to the question: which language are you the best in?>>

001 G4: de boro na to po oute poli kala oute: arista giati: iparhoun sigekrimenes leksis pou

I can't say I'm very good or excellent because... there are certain words that

002 ego then tis ksero.

I don't know.

003 T: mm. ta alvanika? =

Hmm. And in Albanian?

004:G4: =ntaksi oute ke aftes giati kapias leksis pou hrisimopioun o babas ke i mama: ego

Okay, I don't know them either because some words my dad and mum use I

005: de tis ksero ke: [tis] agnoo.

don't know them I'm in ignorance of them.

006 T: [pies] milas kalitera? Pia glosa milas kalitera?

Which one do you speak the best? Which one are you the the best in?

007 G4: ke tis dio giati ke tis dio tis [eho]

Both of them because I have both...

008 T: [pio] kala? =

But he best?

009 G4: (.) e pio kala (---) kamia apaftes. =

Er, best... (---) neither of them.

010 T: =isa diladi tis milas=

You mean you are as good in both of them.

011 G4: =e? ne isa isa.

Er? Yes, the same, the same.

#### **4.11 12:16-12:40**

<<Answering to the question: Can you read Albanian?>>

001 G4: e (--) ohi ine ligo diskoles i leksis e: de boro na tis po poli kala.

Er, (--) no, the words are a little difficult er... I can't say them very well.

002 T: mm.

Hmm.

003 G4: otan de tis hrisimopio para poli.

When I don't use them very much.

004 T: mm.

Hmm.

#### **4.12 13:30- 14:03**

001 G4: e: ithela mia fora na dokimaso an boro na grapso alvanika. diladi ena mikro

I wanted to try writing Albanian once. I mean a short

002 komataki dio tris sires ke entaksi ta katafera ligo me ti voithia tou baba mou.

text of a couple of lines and okay, I made it a little with my dad's help.

003 T: [mm].

Hmm.

004 G4 : [diladi] an then iha pai aglika then tha iha katalavi tipota.

I mean, if I hadn't started English I wouldn't have understood a word.

005 T: =an then ihes pai?=  
If you hadn't started what?

006 G4: =agglika.

English.

007 T: [giati?]

Why?

008 G4: [giati] giati ine: idies leksis parolo poune ta alvanika ehoun ta perisotera

Because, because the words are the same although Albanian is, it has more letters

009 gramata apolo ton kosmo nomizo ego giati ine trianta eksi ke entaksi ta

than the whole world I think, because there are thirty-six of them and, okay,

010 katala ta katalaveno.

I under...I understand it.

#### **4.13 15:30-15:46**

<<Answering to the question: do you think your parents want you to speak one of the two languages the most?>>

001 G4: theloun na milao ti glosa pou: (.)

They want me to speak the language that...

002 T: pou thes esi.

That you want.

003 G4: ne (.) ala: (.) ke na mou pite tora pia thelo ego then ksero giati ke tis dio tis ksero

Yes (.) but...(.) if you asked me now which one I want I can't say because I know them both .

004 T: [mm]

Hmm.

005 G4: [giati] ke apo ki katagome ke apo edo genithika ki edo apoktisa perisoterous filous

Because there is where I come from and here is where I was born and I have made more friends here

006 apo ki.

than there.

## **5. Participant G5**

### **5.1 01:23-01:52**

<<Answering to the question: which language do you use with your parents?>>

001 G5: alvanika ke: pio poLI elinika me ta me ton aderfo mou milao elinika kai tous

Albanian and mostly mostly Greek with the with my brother

002 papous tous papoythes alvanika. me alla: atoma milao alv e elinika (.) me tous

Grandpa my grandparents Albanian. With other people I use Alb er Greek (.)

003 filous pou ehoun erthi i katagonte ap tin alvania el e alvanika.

With my friends who have come or come from from Albania Gr er Albanian.

### **5.2 02:23-02:27**

<<Answering to the question: which language do your parents speak at home when speaking to each other?>>

001 G5: ligo alavnika ke pio poli elinika.

Some Albanian and mostly Greek.

### **5.3 02:45-02:47**

<<Answering to the question: which language do your parents speak addressing you?>>

001 G5: ligo alvanika ke elinikal

A little Albanian and Greek.

#### **5.4 03:14-03:24**

001 G5: pio poli me tous filous mou elinika ke tous e: gonis mou alvanika, ala pio poli

I use Greek with my friends mostly and with my er parents Albanian, But more.

002 poli poli elinika

more, more Greek.

#### **5.5 03:46-03:56**

<<Answering to the question: which language do you speak at school with your friends who come from Albania?>>

001 G5: e: alva e: elinika ala ama then kseroun ke poli alvanika.

Er, Alba...er Greek, but if they don't know much, Albanian.

#### **5.6 04:17-04:29**

001 T: alvanika milas me aftous tous simathites sou edo?

Do you speak Albanian to your classmates here?

002 G5: (.) e ama then kseroun pio poli alvanika.=

(.) Er if they don't know more Albanian.

003 T: =edo me aftous alvanika milas?=  
Here, with them. Do you use Albanian?

004 G5: =ohi elinika.

No, Greek.

#### **5.7 06:39- 06:49**

001 T: apofevgis na milas sto sholio alvanika?=  
Do you avoid speaking Albanian at school?

002 G5: =ne.=

Yes.

003 T: =giati?=  
Why?

004 G5: =giati: thelo pio poli na matho elinika para ta alvanika.

Because...I want to learn Greek more than Albanian.

**5.8 10:04-10:22**

001 T: pia kseris pio kala ta elinika j ta alvanika?=  
Which one do you speak better, Greek or Albanian?

002 G5: =elinika=  
Greek.

003 T: =ara poso pos to vathmologis? me ti? me kala? poso kala ta kseris?  
Then how to you evaluate yourself? With what? Good? How good are you at it?

004: G5: (.) poli kala.=  
(.) Very good.

005 T: =orea. ke ta alvanika pou lei apokato?=  
Okay. How about Albanian?

006 G5: =then ta ksero ke poli mono mehri to epta ksero na metrao. (---) kanis lathi otan  
I don't know it very well, I can only count up to seven. (---) <<reading the next question aloud>> do you make mistakes when you

007 milas alvanika? e ohi then kano.  
speak Albanian? No I don't.

**5.9 12:22-12:28**

<<Answering to the question: would you like your teacher to speak Albanian?>>

001 G5: ohi giati perisotero tha katalavena ta elinika para ta alvanika.  
No because I would understand Greek more than Albanian.

**5.10 12:54- 13:04**

001 G5: then eho episkefti kamia for a. mono o aderfos mou.  
I have never visited <<Albania>>. Only my brother has.=

002 T: =ehete spiti eki?=  
Do you have a house there?

003 G5: =e; then ksero ala eho akousi oti ehoume spiti (.) ap to baba mou.  
Er, I don't know but I've heard we have a house (.) from my dad.

**5.11 13:21-13:40**

001 G5: e eki tha miliso alvanika giati ti fora pou ihe erthi i giagia mou i mama tou baba



- Er, there, <<Albania>> I will be speaking Albanian because when my grandma had come, my father's mother,
- 002 mou: sto spiti milagame mono alvanika giati then ikseres katholou elinika.=  
we spoke only Albanian at home because she didn't know any Greek.
- 003 T: =mou ekso ke si ikseres ke katalavenes?=  
My, outside <<speaking probably to someone else>> and you knew and understood it?
- 004 G5: e katalavena ligo tis merikes fores mmmm ta pio apla ne.  
Er, I understood some, sometimes mmmm<<clearing throat>> the simplest, yes.

## **6. Participant G6**

### **6.1. 16:07-16: 53**

- 001 G6: se pia glosa miloun metaksi tous i gonis sou sto spiti. (.) me: e elinika se pia glosa  
Which language do your parents use with each other at home.<<reading the question aloud>> with... er elinika. In which language
- 002 miloun i gonis sou otan epe eapefthininte se sena. eliniki. pote hrisimopiis i alvani  
do your parents speak when addressing you. Greek. When do you use Albani
- 003 al alvanika sto spiti.(-) pia glosa hrisimopiis sto sholio otan milas me tous filous  
Al... Albanian at home (-) <<no answer>> Which language do you use at school when you speak tour friends.
- 004 sou. Elinika. pote hrisimipiis alvanika sto sholio. pote. otan thelis na milisis gia  
Greek. When do you use Albanian at school. never. When you want to talk about
- 005 pia themata. (--) apofevgis na milas alvanika? (-) e ohi.  
what things (--) <<no answer>> do you avoid speaking Albanian? Er, no.

### **6.2. 17:31-18:19**

- 001 G6: tha itheles i daskala sou na mila alvanika? ohi giati de that ti katalaveno (.)  
Would you like your teacher to speak Albanian? No because I wouldn't understand her
- 002 niothis oti i gonis sou heloun na milas alavanika perisotero apta elinika? (.) ohi.  
Do you feel that your parents want you to speak Albanian more than Greek? (.) No.
- 003 poso sihna episkeptesai thn alvania? e shedon kathe hrono. pia glosa milas eki?

- How often do you visit Albania? Er...almost every year. Which language do you speak there?
- 004 eliniki. ehis niosi pote pos ehis apomakrinthi apo tous filous sou eki logo tis  
Greek. Have you ever felt that you have become isolated from your friends there
- 005 glosas? Ohi. parakoloutheis eliniki i alvaniki tileorasi? ohi giati de tha boro nati;  
because of the language? No. Do you watch Greek or Albanian TV? No because
- 006 katalaveno.  
I don't understand.

## **7. Participant G7**

### **7.1 21: 08-21:50**

- 001 T: pia glosa milas me tous gonis ta atherfia sou tous papoudes sou?=  
Which language do you speak with your parents, brothers, grandparents?
- 002 G7: =e: mil elinika.=  
Er, I sp... Greek.
- 003 T: =ke me tous papudes sou?=  
And with your grandparents?
- 004 G7: =e ke me tous papoudes mou alvanika.=  
Er, and with my grandparents Albanian.
- 005 T: :=me tous gonis sou?=  
With your parents?
- 006 G7: =e em elinika mono me ton atherfo mou milame elinika.=  
Er, ehm, only with my brother we speak Greek.
- 007 T: =e afto ine napantis me osous filous sou katagonte apo tin alvania i [ehoun]  
E, that's what you need to answer. With your friends who come from Albania  
or have...
- 008 G7: [milame] elinika.=  
We speak Greek.
- 009 T: :=elinika [milas] ke me tous filous sou?=  
Do you speak Greek with your friends too?
- 010 G7: =[ne].=

- 011 T: Yes.  
=orea=  
Good.
- 012 G7: =e:=  
Er...
- 013 T: =otan pezis i pas stin taksi ke kanete afta ti otan pezete ti milas? =  
When you play or when you are in the classroom and you do these, what,  
when you play what do you speak?
- 014 G7: =e: elinika.=  
Er, Greek.
- 015 T: =orea sinehise.=  
Good. Go on.
- 016 G7: =e:=  
Er...
- 017 T: =i gonis sou metaksi tous?=  
Your parents to each other?
- 018 G7: =merikes fores e el al alvanika.  
Sometimes er, Gr.. Al... Albanian.

## **7.2 23:34-24:52**

<< Answering to the question: Do you avoid speaking Albanian?>>

- 001 G7: e: the boro na ta apofevgo.=  
Er, I can't avoid it.
- 002 T: =then?=  
You can't?
- 003 G7: = the boro na ta apofevgo.=  
I can't avoid it.
- 004 T: =ti tha pi the boro na ta apofevgo?=  
What do you mean you can't avoid it?
- 005 G7: =e: giati: giati i mama me to baba mou milane siNEhia ke me to [emena]  
Er, because... because mum and dad speak it All the time and to me.
- 006 T: [ne] esi milas?=  
[Yes,] but do you speak it?
- 007 G7: =[ohi].=

- No.
- 008 T: = [I les] ohi the thelo na miliso.=  
[ Or] do you say I don't want to speak..
- 009 G7: =the thelo na miliso the thelo giati: the maresi.=  
I don't want to speak it , I don't want to because... I don't like it.
- 010 T: =giati?=  
Why?
- 011 G7: =the thelo giati: the maresi.=  
I don't want to because I don't like it.
- 012 T: =giati?=  
Why?
- 013 G7: =the ma: na milao alvanika.=  
I don't li.. speaking Albanian.
- 014 T: =pesto ksana.=  
Say this again.
- 015 G7: =the maresi na milao alvanika.=  
I don't like speaking Albanian.
- 016 T: =giati?=  
Why?
- 017 G7: =e: giati: (-) giati ine diskoli glosa gia mena:=  
Er, because to me it is a difficult language .
- 018 T: =mm.=  
Hmm.
- 019 G7: =ke the boro gia na grapso.=  
And I can't write.
- 020 T: = a ke e pistevs oti an milas e elinika tha ehis perisoterous filous?=  
A, and you believe that if you speak er, Greek you will have more friends?
- 021 G7: =ne.=  
Yes.
- 022 T: =giati?=  
Why?
- 023 G7: =e: giati stin elada: ine pio plousia apo tin alvania.=  
Because Greece is richer than Albania.
- 024 T: = <<laughter>> ne an milas leo al elinika elinika e: afto se kani na mi diaferis

<<laughter>> yes, all I'm saying is, if you speak Greek er, does this make you not to be different

025           apo tous alous?=  
                    From the others?

026 G7:    =ne.=

Yes.

027 T:     =giati?=  
                    Why?

028 G7:    =e: gia (--)

Er, for...

029 T:     giati se kani na mi diaferis?=  
                    Why does it make you not to be different?

030 G7     :=e: afto gia e afto the to ksero

Er, this about, I don't know this.

### **7.3       25:00-25:24**

<<answering to the question:do you think that your classmates will make fun of you if you speak Albanian?>>

001 G7:    e merikes fores (-) pio poles fores ne.=

Er, sometimes (-) most of the time, yes.

002 T:     =pio poles fores I pio poli simathites?=  
                    Most of the time or most of your classmates?

003 G7:    =e:=

Er...

004 T:     =se koroithevoun thilathi? ehis milisi ke sehoun koroithepsi i simathites sou

Do you mean that they make fun of you? You spoke <<Albanian>> and your classmates made fun of you

005           otan ehis milisi alvanika?=  
                    when you spoke Albanian?

006 G7:    =ohi.=

No.

### **7.4       25:49-25:56**

<<answering to the question: How do you evaluate yourself in Albanian?>>

001 G7: sta elinika ksero perisotero=

I know more Greek.

002 T: =ti kseris perisotero? =

What do you know more?

003 G7: =gia na milao.=

T o speak.

004 T: = elinika? =

Greek?

005 G7: =ne.

Yes.

## **7.5 29:11-29:18**

<<answering to the question: would you like your teacher to speak Albanian ?>>

001 G7: e: e giati (.) the the mou aresi a: na milao alanika giati the tha katalavo.

Er, e because (.) I don't I don't like speaking Albanian because I will not understand.

## **7.6 29:48-30:03**

<<answering to the question: which language will you speak if you go to Albania?>>

001 G7: alvanika.

Albanian.

002 T: =ala omos (.) the kseris.=

But (.) you don't know.

003 G7: =ne the ksero mono tha matho.=

Yes, I don't know it but I will learn.

004 T: = malista ehis niosi oti apomakrinese apo tous filous ke sigenis sou epithi the

Okay. Have you felt distanced from your friends and relatives because you

005 kseris alvanika? =

don't know Albanian?

006 G7: =ne.=

Yes.

007 T: =mm epidi the boris na sinenoithis mm.

Hmm, because you can't communicate with them. Hmm.

## 8. Participant G8

### 8.1 38:50-39: 24

- 001 G8: milao alvanika elinika ke ligo agglika. (-) ematha aftes tis gloses tin alvaniki tin  
I speak Albanian, Greek and a little English. (-) I have learned these languages.  
I knew Albanian.
- 002 iksera tin eliniki tin ematha apo ta: enea hronia pou zo edo pera stin elada ke tin  
I have learned Greek during the nine years I have been living here in Greece,  
and
- 003 alvaniki tin ksero ke ta aglika (.) ta matheno: sto frontistirio. (--) i glosa pou  
I know Albanian and as for English (.) I have been learning it at the english  
School. (--) The language
- 004 hrisimopio sto spiti mou ine i alvaniki ke ligo elinika.  
I use at home is Albanian and a little Greek.

### 8.2 40:04- 40:11

- 001 G8: i glosa pou miloun metaksi tous sto spiti o babas i mama mou ine: alvanika.  
The language my parents speak to each other at home is... Albanian.

### 8.3 40:18-40:34

- 001 G8: otan apefthinonte se mena pali milane alvanika. (-) tin perisoteri glosa pou  
When they address me they speak Albanian too (-). The language they use
- 002 hrisimopioun sto spiti mou ine ta alvanika.  
at home more is Albanian.

### 8.4 40:57-41:21

- 001 G8; i glosa pou: hrisimipio edo sto sholio ine ta elinika. (--) opii fili mou katagonte  
The language I use here at school is Greek. (--) I speak Greek to those friends
- 002 apo tin alvania tous milao pali elinika.  
of mine who come from Albania.

### 8.5 41:33 – 41:41

- 001 G8: hrisimipio alvanika sto sholio (.) otan the ksero: (-) pia (.) pos legete afti i leksi.  
I use Albanian at school (.) when I don't know ... (-) what (.) how to say a  
word.

**8.6 41:57- 42:02**

- 001 G7: the pistevo pos an milao elinika thaho perisoterous filous.  
I don't think I will have more friends is I speak Greek.

**8.7 43:09-43:41**

- 001 G8: pos vathmologo ton eafto mou sta alvanika. (-) tetarto: kapiess leksis pou the tis  
How I evaluate myself in Albanian. (-) Fourth... there are some words that I  
002 ksero kala: (-) otan milao alvanika kano merika lathi. (-) otan milai kapios  
don't know well... (-) when I speak Albanian I make some mistakes. (-) When  
someone speaks  
003 alvanika then ton katalaveno poli kala ala: (.) an to pi kala tha ton katalavo.  
Albanian I don't understand very well but...(-) if they say it right I will  
understand.

**8.8 44:40-45:03**

- 001 G8: the tha ithela i daskala mou na milai: (-) alvanika (--) ne alvanika giati (-) tora  
I wouldn't like my teacher to speak...(-) Albanian (--) yes Albanian because (-)  
002 edo pou ime stin elada: (.) the tha katalavena alvanika:  
now that I am here in Greece... (-) I wouldn't understand Albanian.

**8.9 45:07 -45:16**

- 001 G8: niotho oti i zoi oti i gonis mou theloun na milao perisotero: sto sholio elinika  
I think that life, that my parents want me to speak more... Greek at school  
002 ala ke sto spiti alvanika.  
but Also Albanian at home.



